

SCAPULARS

I.

IN the course of the year 1914 the Rev Father P. E. Magennis, of the Order of Calced Carmelites, published a volume which bore the title "The Scapular and Some Critics." As my name was very frequently mentioned in the pages of this work, and as one entire chapter was specially devoted to "Father Thurston and the Scapular,"¹ it seemed to me at the time that it would be necessary to make some reply, for the book gave a presentment of my articles which, though no doubt written in good faith, was distinctly misleading. However, before I was able to execute my purpose, the war broke out, and interest in such controversies of a distant past was diverted into other channels. The matter consequently passed from my mind and the memory of it has only been revived quite lately in making acquaintance with Dr. Mangan's valuable work "The Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus." Erasmus, as we may there read, mentions the *Scapulare lineum* of the Augustinian Canons as a part—indeed the most significant part—of the religious habit of the Order. From this the question suggested itself whether the same caustic satirist of Church institutions had anything to say on the subject of scapulars for the laity. The Carmelite contention being that from the days of St. Simon Stock onwards, kings, lords and peasants vied with each other in their eagerness to be invested in the brown scapular, one might expect that a man of Erasmus' scoffing temper could hardly fail to take advantage of so inviting a theme. I have spent some time upon the search but I have found nothing. No doubt it would be rash to attempt to base an argument upon the silence of a single author, but there are other considerations, as we shall see later, which also have to be taken into account. If good, positive evidence were forthcoming that lay-folk at the beginning of the sixteenth century were accustomed to wear two small pieces of cloth joined with strings, there would of

¹ P. E. Magennis, "The Scapular and Some Critics; the Vision (1251-1500)." Rome, 1914, pp. 151-177. It is one of the many typographical eccentricities of this publication that in the copy before me the chapter on "Father Thurston and the Scapular" is numbered 21, while the chapter which follows is numbered 20. In the index both chapters are said to begin on p. 177. This does not give the impression of very scholarly work.

course be an end of the matter. But, so far as I can learn, no such evidence has yet been produced by any of the defenders of the scapular tradition who during the last three hundred years have written on the subject. The inference consequently confronts us that this particular devotional observance is later in date. It will be my object in the second of these articles to give an idea of the character of this negative evidence,¹ not with any thought of disparaging a practice now everywhere accepted and approved, but only as a step towards determining the date at which the custom of wearing scapulars in the lay sense first became general.

In the "Catholic Encyclopedia," under the heading Scapular, will be found an exceptionally well informed article written by a scholar, Father Joseph Hilgers, S.J., whose researches in connection with his well-known work on Indulgences² had led him to investigate the subject very thoroughly. The scapular, as he explains, was originally a part of the habit of the monastic Orders.

It consists essentially of a piece of cloth about the width of the breast from one shoulder to the other (*i.e.*, about fourteen to eighteen inches) and of such a length that it reaches not quite to the feet in front and behind. There are also shorter forms of the scapular. In the middle is the opening for the head, the scapular thus

¹ I have no wish to discuss here the alleged vision of St. Simon Stock or the origins of the brown scapular. I am quite content to abide by what I wrote in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," July, 1904, May, 1911 and June, 1911. In the light of Father Magennis' criticisms I have re-read these articles, and, barring a few obvious and trivial misprints for which I was not responsible, I find nothing that I feel called upon to retract or to modify. There are two points, however, which I would press upon any reader who is disposed to accept Father Magennis' account of my arguments. The first is that I would beg an enquirer to read my articles for himself and not to trust a second-hand report of their purport. In the second place I would also ask him to note that my paper of July, 1904, was not a discussion of the general historical question, but a friendly criticism of Father Zimmerman's previous four articles in the same review. It is headed "A Criticism." It raises objections against the case as presented by Father Zimmerman. It does not pretend to deal with the contention of Chéron or other Carmelite authorities. I say explicitly (p. 63, note 1) "I argue *ad hominem* in the present article." As I showed in May, 1911 (pp. 495-496), I had no reason to doubt in 1904 that Father Z. was the accepted spokesman of the more enlightened and intelligent of his brethren. He had been formally commissioned in 1901 to write the history of the Order, and as late as September, 1905, he was officially described by the Carmelite Vicar General, Father Ezechiel a SS. Corde Jesu, as "Ordinis nostri Historiographus." Father Z. has been disavowed by a party of his brethren because he questioned the legends traditional among them. With his criticism of these legends I was and am in thorough accord, but it seemed to me, rightly or wrongly, that having gone so far he was logically bound to go still further.

² Beringer and Hilgers, "Die Ablässe ihr Wesen und Gebrauch," 14th Edn. 2 Vols. Paderborn, 1916.

hanging down from two narrow connecting segments resting on the shoulders. Originally the longitudinal segments of cloth were confined by cross segments passing under the arms—a form which exists even to this day [notably among the Carthusians]. In former times also two segments of cloth hung over the shoulders [just as they do in the deacon's dalmatic] which they covered, and thus formed a cross with the longitudinal segments over the breast and back. . . . Just as the stole is the special sign of the priestly dignity and power, the scapular is now the sign of a monk.

So far as regards the name, *scapula* is the Latin for shoulder blade, and *scapulare* would naturally denote a garment which covered the shoulder blades. The word meets us first in the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 550 A.D.), who directs that each monk should have a *scapulare, propter opera, i.e.*, as a working dress. No doubt this implies that the cowl (*cuculla*) which he also owned was not a mere hood but a rather voluminous cloak fitted with a hood. Such a dress would not be very well adapted for field work, and consequently when the monks were engaged in manual labour they wore a costume which left their arms perfectly free, but which was sufficient to protect the under-garment (*tunica*) from the mud and rain. The suggestion that the scapular in these early days was not regarded as an essential constituent of the religious habit is borne out by the fact that the Rule makes no mention of it as part of their night attire, though the monks seem to have worn both tunic and cowl when they went to rest.¹ It is probable that the primitive scapular usually had a hood attached to it. Mabillon and others have reproduced a number of early miniatures which suggest this. The result has been a considerable amount of confusion and uncertainty in the description of the different elements of monastic dress. Many centuries later it seems that the original scapular of the Dominicans had a hood attached, or at any rate served as a covering for the head.² This may possibly explain how it happened that in the earliest accounts of the vision of Blessed Reginald, to whom, as a very early tradition attests, our Lady appeared and showed him the habit which was to be worn by the

¹ See upon this Abbot Delatte, "Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict," in the admirable translation of Dom Justin McCann, pp. 202 and 349—50.

² Quéatif-Echard, "Scriptores Ord. Præd." I., 75.

Friars Preachers, the language used is very vague. But Bernard Gui, nearly a century after St. Dominic's disappearance from the scene, states quite definitely that what the Blessed Virgin showed him was "the scapular such as we now wear." Further, he mentions that up to this time St. Dominic and his companions had been content to be clad in the surplice which was the usual dress of the Augustinian Canons, but that after Blessed Reginald's vision they adopted the white scapular in its place.¹ On the other hand it seems certain that in the Constitutions which St. Dominic gave to his Sisters of St. Sixtus in 1220 the scapular had only a very subordinate place,² and it is highly probable that it was only used, as is expressly stated in the Constitutions drafted by Cardinal Hugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX., "when they work or are engaged upon duties for which cloaks (*pallia*) cannot conveniently be worn." On the other hand among the Servites and the Carmelites the scapular seems to have been treated as the most significant part of their religious attire. The former decreed as early as 1257 that "no one should lie down to sleep without his scapular and tunic," while the latter similarly pronounced "we enact that the brethren under pain of a grievous breach of discipline must always sleep in tunic and scapular with a girdle round their waists." At Subiaco also among the Benedictines it was laid down that the monks must always sleep in their religious dress, that is to say, at least with tunic, scapular and waist belt, that they may be ready to get up when called.³

With regard to the whole question of the origin of lay confraternities and third orders much obscurity and confusion prevail, while even the most approved authorities are frequently in conflict. Reliable documentary evidence is very scarce, and where we do happen to possess a set of early Constitutions which can be securely dated (as, for example, the Capestrano rule for the Franciscan third order in 1228) the information afforded is generally meagre. They rarely tell us anything about the procedure of initiation or of the existence of a distinctive badge of membership. It can, however, be safely affirmed that lay confraternities of a purely religious character (as opposed to trade guilds) can be

¹ Balme et Lelaidier, "Cartulaire de Saint Dominique," Vol. II., p. 196.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II., p. 434.

³ Albers, "Constitutiones Monasticae," II., p. 126.

traced back to the eleventh century or even earlier, and that most of these seem to have grown up in the neighbourhood of some great abbey and with a certain dependence upon the spiritual ministrations of the monks who lived there. Further, the Benedictine family in nearly all its branches recognized a class of lay "Oblates" who were bound to the monastery by an even closer relation. These oblates shared in some measure in its privileges, often participated in its functions, and were buried in its religious habit. It was natural enough then that when in the thirteenth century the mendicant Orders began to play so conspicuous a part in the life of the Church the spectacle of their energetic zeal should give rise to the development of similar accretions. Some of these took the form of what were, strictly speaking, "third orders," not indeed bound by vows, for their members were often married people who lived in their own homes and were occupied in the support of their families, but admitted to a participation in many of the spiritual privileges of the Religious, sharing in the merit of their good works, and looking forward in particular to being vested in the habit, at least in the hour of death. Other organizations were mere confraternities which attached themselves to the churches of the friars, accepted their direction, and were probably much influenced by the special aims and spirit distinctive of the particular Order concerned. That the members both of the third orders and of the confraternities should have wished to be distinguished by some external badge, or form of dress, which emphasized their association with the mother community is in itself quite likely. Unfortunately we know extremely little about the details of the working of these organizations in their early stages. No one could think of disputing the fact that the familiar double pendant with its pictures—not quite so familiar perhaps nowadays since the recognition of the scapular-medal as a substitute—was ultimately derived from the full-length scapular which forms part of the religious habit of the Carmelites. Even if any caviller were disposed to doubt it, there are fragments of evidence which make it easy to understand how the transition came about from the ample cloth garment of the friar to the two little pieces of brown stuff united by strings which are now worn by the laity. We learn in the first place from the great Carmelite doctor, the Englishman Thomas Waldensis, that the White

Friars had a special scapular for night use. Speaking of the respect for modesty inculcated in the cloister, and by implication contrasting it with the practice which, as we know from countless miniatures and literary allusions, prevailed at that period among the laity of lying in bed absolutely nude, Waldensis remarks: "In every religious order, I feel sure, the monks sleep in their habits, as our own Carmelites do in their white tunic and night scapular" (*ut nostri Carmelitæ in tunica candida et scapulari nocturno*). Again, we find in the "Viridarium" of the Carmelite, John Grossi, which was written in 1430, the statement that after our Blessed Lady, as the tradition of the Order maintained, had presented the scapular to St. Simon Stock with the promise that "he who dies in this habit will be saved," many leading men in England, and notably amongst others King Edward II. and Henry Duke of Lancaster, "secretly wore the scapular of the Order and in it they died." Father Zimmerman draws the inference that whether this statement be historically justifiable or not, it in any case proves that at the period when Grossi wrote a smaller form of scapular was known which could have been worn secretly. It certainly would have been impossible to hide the long garment reaching almost to the feet which formed then, as it forms now, an integral part of the day habit of the Order. Moreover there is a third piece of evidence, the most interesting of all, which I venture to reprint here in the same terms in which Father Zimmerman was kind enough some years ago to tell me of his discovery. Writing from Rome on June 22, 1907, he said that he had been examining a revision of the Carmelite Constitutions which had been made in 1369 by the then General, John Ballistarii, and which is contained in the Vatican manuscript, Latin 3991; and he continued:

In my book [the "Monumenta historica Carmelitana"] you will find a decision of the Chapter of 1342 prescribing that a postulant must bring with him *lectisternia*, which I take to mean his own blankets, etc. Ballistarii gives the passage thus: "Item statuimus quod quicumque ingrediens ordinem ad sui instantiam . . . habeat etiam cum rauba sua parvum scapulare cum tunica ad jacendum." [Also we enact that anyone who of his own proper motion enters our Order must bring with him . . . and he must also have besides his clothes (?) a small scapular

with a tunic for sleeping in.] The *tunica*, as is explained elsewhere, is merely a kind of night-shirt. But the *parvum scapulare* is interesting. Here is a postulant who comes to the convent to be received into the Order, and in due time to be clothed. Yet he is supposed to bring with him not only what manner of ordinary clothing everybody requires by day or by night, but also a *parvum scapulare*. There can be no possible doubt about the authenticity of the passage or about the date. It certainly proves that about the middle of the fourteenth century some people who did *not* wear the Carmelite habit, since they did not yet belong to the Order, were supposed to be already in possession of a scapular which they wore at night time.

This passage which had not been noticed before is certainly of great interest. The credit of the discovery belongs entirely to Father Benedict Zimmerman, though some of his confrères who have subsequently made use of it have ignored their indebtedness.¹ It does not seem to me, I confess, that we are justified in inferring from this mention of a "parvum scapulare" that people who did not belong to the Order were already in possession of such a vesture. We can only safely conclude that the intending novice was to be warned that this formed part of the equipment required, and that he was expected to provide it at his own expense. There are many schools in which a uniform has to be worn, and a notice is sent out to that effect, in order that those concerned may make arrangements beforehand, but it would be unreasonable to infer that because the new-comer was requested to bring it with him, he therefore had been in the habit of wearing it beforehand.

Undoubtedly both the evidence just quoted and the existing practice of the Order prove satisfactorily that from an early period the Carmelite friars made use of a smaller scapular as well as the long strip of cloth reaching both before and behind from the shoulders to the feet which forms part of the ordinary habit. The same is true of the religious vesture in use among several of the third orders. As Father Hilgers remarks:

It has thus come to pass that the third orders for the laity, such as the Franciscans, Servites and Dominicans,

¹ See the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1911, pp. 605-606.

wear to-day as their special badge and habit a "large" scapular, consisting essentially of two segments of woollen cloth (about four and a half inches long and two and three-eighths inches broad in the case of the Franciscan scapular, much longer and broader in the case of the Carmelite—although no particular length or breadth is prescribed) connected with each other by two strings or bands. The best known scapular is that of the Third Order of St. Francis, or, as it is simply called, the scapular of St. Francis, it is brown, grey, or black in colour, and has (at least generally) on one of the woollen segments the image of St. Francis and on the other that of the little church of Portiuncula.

Relatively large as these are, the members are required to wear them constantly in order to share in the indulgences and privileges of the third order to which they belong. At the same time they can easily be worn under the outer clothing and thus hidden from public view. On the other hand it is plain that they represent the intermediate stage in the development of the tiny little segments of cloth, hardly more than an inch or two in length, to which the name scapular is most familiarly applied.

When was this stage reached, and when was it that this form of devotion stood by itself, so that the faithful began to speak of being "enrolled in this or that scapular"? In spite of the citations which have lately been published from Father Joseph Falcone and other Carmelite propagandists of the devotion, I cannot persuade myself that any notable impression was produced on the mind of Catholics at large before the beginning of the seventeenth century. But the statement of the difficulties arising from the silence of Erasmus and other satirists of contemporary devotional practices would require more space than can be afforded here and must be deferred for another occasion.

(To be continued.)

HERBERT THURSTON.

PHILISTINES AND OTHERS

PERHAPS I am something of an old fogey. The world moves swiftly: it is hard for one to keep up with it. But within my memory, at least, certain people used to damn the Philistine. It may be that there are no more Philistines—*nous avons changé tout cela*. But it may be that we have changed only the name. For the benefit of younger or more up-to-the-minute readers I might explain what a Philistine is, or was.

The expression originated, I believe, in the German universities, where the students dubbed all non-students "die Philister." I suspect that Thomas Carlyle, that great importer of Germanisms, brought it into England and Matthew Arnold only gave it vogue. But it broadened its meaning. From the mere townsmen as opposed to the students, it came to mean the stupid and crass as opposed to people of taste and imagination. Then in its evolution, disregarding all Mendelian laws, it leaped to include the vast multitude as opposed to a select coterie with monocles and lorgnettes. And before it disappeared into the backward and abysm of time, it embraced all the world of articulate men and women as opposed to those who had read four Russian novels.

It was a much-loved word, even if for a much-hated thing. It had a flavour. It was subtle. Most of those who used it had scarcely more than the remotest idea of what it meant. But it connoted, as they would say, so much. What a pity it should be scrapped!

For the Philistine, like the poor, we have always with us: even though nowadays we call him "rough-neck" or "low-brow," names not nearly so polite, and which chagrin us by making us suspect that he coined them himself. Indeed, one fears that the tables are turned, that the vulgar fellow is positively laughing at his betters. Is it possible that this is why we do not speak of Philistines any more: because the Philistines have bound the true sons of Israel and are making sport of them in their temple of Dagon?

There are coarse guffaws to-day, I'm afraid, at mention of "high-brows." It is most irritating, beyond a doubt. One wishes to be above the—what shall we say?—not common herd: that sounds a bit vulgar itself. Let us rather say:

one wishes to be of those who are worth while. That is it: worth while: distinctive, yet not contemptuous—or if so, at most only by implication. But one does not wish to be vulgarly pointed out, and jeered at, and called offensive names, by those who are not-well-worth while.

And there we are. Change the names as we please, there still remains the subtle, yet almost violent, antagonism between the Philistines and the Others. The Others may pretend in their talk and writings to ignore the Philistines. But they do not ignore them; apparently they cannot ignore them. In their loftiest pose of indifference there is an undercurrent of attack or defence: or a challenging insinuation that this is *entre nous*: or a patronizing complacency that the outer world is helplessly struggling to take their point of view. If a man were to strive seriously to make peace between the Philistines and the Others, he would meet, I fear, only the sad fate of all pacifists: a most dreadful buffeting from both combatants. The most one might venture to do is to sympathize with both parties.

In this, as in most oppositions, there is a great deal of right on both sides. This, I hasten to add, is not a pacifist statement at all. The most gorgeous rows are always those in which each opponent has considerable right in his contention.

On the one side, it must be admitted that a certain amount of developed and trained intelligence is required for the right appreciation and enjoyment of art and letters. It must further be admitted that more of this intelligence is needed when the work to be appreciated is of a subtler sort, finer in its texture, more skilful in its presentation. We may even admit cheerfully that it takes several generations, at least, to develop this intelligence: that it is in a sense bred into a man: that it is not at all the cramming work of a mere school. But there, as it seems to me, the case of the Others must rest. Why should they reasonably even wish to say just what the education must be which shall fit a man to sit down at the table of the immortals?

The world is always infected with snobbishness—all worlds are: even a Pomeranian pup patronizes a common terrier. But of all worlds the most snobbish in its tendencies is the world of letters and art. The desire to be, or seem to be, esoteric is a sort of original sin in us: in certain circumstances it grows rank as a weed. Saddest of all to con-

template, the circumstances that make it sprout most horribly are connected with mere material possessions. Dowager Lady Bumpus, because she has a title and a scandalous number of thousands a year, must have a "literary circle"—and even intelligent people bow down before her, though they do it with their tongues in their cheeks.

But more serious than this (which is not serious at all, but only funny), there are always a certain number of yearning souls for whom the supreme recommendation of a book or painting or bit of music is that it is not popular. They reason backward, so far as they reason at all in the matter. They say, "Very great work is not fully appreciated by the masses of men"—and then twist the thing to "Whatever is rejected by the common sense of men is very great work." They are the good people who promptly abandon a writer or singer or painter, so soon as he wins popular applause. In their judgment, the frequent recurrence of a man's name in the speech of the vulgar, a large attendance at a concert, a popular reproduction of a painting, are damning facts: and to be a "best seller" is anathema maranatha!

A few years ago G. K. Chesterton might have roared amongst them as any suckling dove. To-day, when even a tired business man may revel in him, they can only shake their heads sadly and dismiss him as "having so shamelessly abused paradox." Even Browning has been abandoned (outside of the R.F.D. districts): the disgusting public are pretending to understand him, even to point out his defects and errors and limitations! So there is nothing left for the elect save Artzibashev and Strindberg and the more "elemental" Russians and Norsemen in general and a few poets who write "thought-colours" and the delightful cubists.

It may be said—has been said—that the Others are at least pioneers, that they point the way for the general public. But is it true? Some of them re-discovered Homer in the days of the Renaissance. But who first discovered him? Similarly, some of them are trying to re-discover Dante to-day—which must make the Italian Philistines smile! I heard one erudite man the other day groan over the stupid indifference of people to Shakespeare. The indifference is there, though it is much exaggerated in reports. Even a passably good production of a Shakespearean play still draws a houseful of Philistines. And for such lack of interest as exists there is good reason: Shakespeare speaks a strange

language now, as remote from us as the speech of Achilles is to a modern Greek. Besides, the "high-brows" have done much to kill Shakespeare: they have made him a study instead of a delight. When Shakespeare wrote and acted his plays, the "groundlings" too exulted in him and caught the irony of Hamlet's passing sneer at themselves: Hamlet was one of the Others.

It is the Philistine who, with bowed back, has always upheld the world of letters and art; the Others mostly dance hysterically about it. All art is democratic. Its appeal is to mankind at large. This is not a piffing whine of equality. The fattest fact in the world is that all men are born unequal. And therefore the arts appeal to all men unequally; but they still appeal to all men.

It is the bulk and mass of the nation, of the people of a common language, who in their slow and cumbersome way, through the wheeling cycles of generations, pass final judgment upon the work of artists, and chiefly of literary artists. A man is great in letters when the world has slowly and surely appraised him as such: not when a little exclusive circle has gone into raptures over him. Individually the Philistine does not count for much. His mental equipment is ordinarily not equal to that of one of the Others. But in the mass (if this be paradox, it cannot be helped) his judgment is practically infallible.

Oh, I am remembering that there is Mr. Harold Will Write, who does his composing on a linotype machine, with a sob-sister by his side for the moister parts, and who sells seven billion copies a year. But that is merely another illustration of the truth that "you can fool all the people some of the time." Wait! The Philistine *en masse* thinks slowly. And the wily publisher is hackling him for the moment. Give him a little time, and Mr. Will Write and all of those of his kidney will move quietly to the attic and the furnace-room, as their predecessors have done before them. They are only accidents.

One reason why the Philistine thinks slowly, and why he can be momentarily imposed upon, is that he is a busy man. He is at hard grapple with life itself, in the cockpit of his individual world. He has little leisure for reading and studying and comparing. And that same is the reason why, in the long run, he judges so surely. Life keeps him sane. Ennui breeds no maggots in his brain. His artistic delights, because

few, are simple and wholesome. The solid meats of the gods are his foods: he has no temptation to dig for truffles. His appetite is not jaded. And he has at his hand the constant touchstone of truth, the hard, swift, keen reality of human activity, the world of struggle and laughter, of hopes and fears and faith, of life and death. He may stumble and halt in his analysis, and be dumb when it comes to giving reasons: but he has a sense of proportion that the centuries have made an almost instinctive part of his intellectual processes. He lives in long ages, through which those to whom God has given the divine spark rise up and hold their visions before him and die; and he wipes the sweat from his eyes and, by the millions, looks at their work, and keeps it, or throws it away. They are the chorus, and he is the drama itself. What they sing must fit with what he does.

And whilst he waits in his long, slow judgment, he is watching. Just as some men impose upon him for a brief space, so too he misses some others: but not many. He is reading millions of publications every week. He is giving all the pretending world of art its chance. With a grin on his face, he is even listening to the "high-brows,"—and thinking his own slow thoughts. When he has decided, he nods his head: and there is no appeal. The Others may rave: let them: his word is final.

And in the meanwhile, for all the show he foots the bill.

WILLIAM T. KANE.

"THE CHURCH OF THE SPIRIT"

THE recent celebration of the centenary of "Edward Irving's Church" in Regent Square, London, brings into momentary newspaper prominence one of the strangest and smallest of the fragments that lie in lamentable confusion around the Rock-foundation of the Church of Christ, and a few words about this particular body may be of some interest to Catholics, because in its official title, "The Catholic Apostolic Church," it imitates our own, because it retains so much supernatural belief, and because most of the notices concerning it, in encyclopædias and elsewhere, are inadequate. The Regent Square edifice has now no connection with the "Catholic Apostolics," nor indeed had Edward Irving in his day, but without him the material church would not have come into being and the history of the body would have been quite different.

The political upheavals that shook the whole of Europe as the eighteenth century passed into the nineteenth had disturbing effects upon the minds and hearts of men of good will in all countries. In particular, the flood of lawlessness and godlessness that was let loose at the time of the French Revolution grieved those many earnest souls outside the Church, who still held fast to part at least of the Christianity that had made and safeguarded European civilization. Small bands of non-Catholic Christians, troubled at what seemed to be the threatened dissolution of religion, felt moved to study the Scriptures carefully and to pray for another great outpouring of the Spirit—a new Pentecost—to check the rising tide of iniquity. It would appear that, at first, these movements were quite independent of each other; they arose spontaneously in various places, and it was not until 1835, as we shall see, that any corporate organization was attempted. In England the most prominent figure in the movement was Edward Irving, a Presbyterian minister in London, noted for his gifts as a preacher as well as for holiness of life, who drew crowds to his church by his eloquence. However, his rôle in regard to subsequent events was that of the Precursor rather than of the Apostles: the Catholic Apostolic Church came into being only in 1835, a year after Irving's death

and four years after his deposition from office by the Scottish Kirk, to which he belonged, for heresy!

Study of the Scriptures, unguided by Catholic tradition, brought these handfuls of people to the conclusion that the Second Coming of our Lord was near at hand. In the troubles afflicting Church and State they saw the predicted "signs of the times"—the rising of nation against nation, the failing of men's hearts for fear, at the sight of those things that were coming on the earth. They read too the word: "When these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption is at hand," and the question presented itself: "How to prepare to meet the Lord when He comes?" They found what they considered an answer to their prayers in the "prophecyings" uttered by some of the members of the groups, speaking, as they claimed, under the influence of the Holy Spirit. These "prophecyings," characteristic of religious "revivals" everywhere, occurred in Scotland and Germany and elsewhere, and their general trend was this:—God had heard the prayers of His people, and desired them to make ready the way for His Second Coming in power and majesty, as Judge of the living and the dead, to inaugurate the "new heavens and new earth" and the reign of everlasting peace.

Further utterances indicated the lines along which the work was to proceed. The Church, it was said, had lost her first hope, the hope of the speedy re-appearing of her Bridegroom, expressed in many passages of the New Testament. This hope must be revived, so that the Church should be religiously equipped to meet her Lord. The mission was therefore to the Church primarily, and it was to be Apostolic, as was the Church's first mission to the world at Pentecost. Twelve latter-day Apostles were to be given by God to His Church, who together with the original Twelve would complete the number of the "four and twenty elders" mentioned by St. John in the Apocalypse. Thus the Church, which in the beginning had been "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone," was to be built up again upon the same foundation of "apostles and prophets."

Twelve men were pointed out by a "word of prophecy" as those who were to be the "apostles." (It is interesting to note that there was a "Judas" who did not persevere in his vocation, and whose place was filled by another.) These

received no human ordination, for they were conceived of as having been endowed from on high with the plenitude of the ministry, as the Apostles in the beginning had received their commission directly from our Lord Himself. (So St. Paul speaks of himself as "an apostle, not from men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father.") When the scattered groups in various parts of Europe were informed of what was happening through "evangelists" sent to them by the "apostles," they naturally looked up to the "apostles" as a centre, and placed themselves under their guidance. Finally, in a representative assembly on July 14, 1835, in London, the "apostles" were "separated" (Acts xiii. 2) from the rest for the special work that was theirs. This was in no way an ordination, but a recognition and acceptance of the "apostles" by the whole body.

Now the work began as a corporate organization. The "apostles" set about establishing a hierarchy to help them in the work of the ministry. Men were "called" by the "prophets" to the "priesthood," and these were "ordained" by the "apostles." By this time regular congregations had been formed in different places, so that some sort of local organization became necessary. The New Testament was the guide followed by the "apostles," as they maintained that they ought to act on the same lines as the first Apostles. On their interpretation of various passages in St. Paul and others they built up an elaborate hierarchy, which in its fullness is something like this. At the head of the body were to be the "Twelve Apostles," and around them in the "Apostolic College" were gathered "Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors." These together made up the "fourfold ministry," which they maintained was described by St. Paul (Eph. iv. 11), foreshadowed by the four living creatures of Ezechiel's vision, and represented also by the *quatuor animalia* of the Apocalypse. This fourfold ministry was regarded as necessary in the organization of the Church, being given by Christ, as St. Paul says, "for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry, unto the edification (building up) of the body of Christ: till we all meet in the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. iv. 12, 13). The fourfold ministry ministered to the four chief faculties of man—Apostles to his will, Prophets to his imagination, Evangelists to his reason, Pastors

to his affections. The "Apostolic College" and its helpers formed the ministry of the "Universal Church" as distinct from the various local congregations, and was established at Albury, near Guildford, in Surrey.

The local churches, of which there is at least one in most of the large cities of Europe, are ruled by the traditional orders of "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." A fully-organized church has at its head a "Bishop" with his throne, who has under him a number of smaller congregations, each with a "Priest in charge." These "Bishops" are called "Angels," again following New Testament precedent. (We have the authority of St. Augustine and St. Epiphanius for saying that the "angels of the churches" to whom St. John was directed to write in the Apocalypse were the various diocesan Bishops.) We may note here that all the ministers of the "Universal Church" are of "episcopal" rank. Under each "angel" in his local church are four "priests," corresponding to the fourfold ministry of the "Universal Church." The Apostle is represented by the "elder," while the "prophets, evangelists, and pastors" retain the same names. There are also "deacons," who should be seven in number (Acts vi. 5), though usually they are not so many. The "angels" receive their "episcopal consecration" from the "apostles," the "priests and deacons" their "ordination" from the "apostles" or some "angel" delegated by them.

So much for the organization of the body. We come now to the doctrine and practice. And here we must bear in mind the object of the movement, namely, to "make ready the way of the Lord," to prepare for His Second Coming, as St. John the Baptist prepared for His First Coming. The idea was not to found a new sect, though in practice that was bound to happen. It was rather to be a "little flock," a select company gathered out of all parts of Christendom to represent the whole "Church Catholic" before the throne of God in intercession and supplication. By "Church Catholic" they meant "the whole body of baptized Christians." Because of what they believe to be their mission, they dislike being called by any particular title, least of all by one that would seem to connect them with any human founder. But since they must needs have some official name, if only for statistical purposes, they call themselves simply the "Catholic Apostolic Church," in accordance with the designation of the

Church given in the Nicene Creed. By this they do not by any means wish to imply that they are the "true Church" to the exclusion of everyone else. It is an honest attempt to describe quite simply what they sincerely believe themselves to be—representatives of the "Catholic Apostolic Church." In popular parlance they have come to be frequently known as "Irvingites"—a name which they resent most strongly, and with good cause. First, they claim that they are followers "not of any one man, but of the Lord Jesus Christ." Secondly, historically, as we have said, the body was not founded by Edward Irving at all but, in the mind of its members, by the Holy Spirit Himself. But it is hard to correct a popular error of the sort. The Vicar of St. Leonard's, Bridgnorth, who was ejected from his living for favouring the "prophets," and became the first "Angel of the Church at Bridgnorth," was named Dalton, and the "Irvingites" are called "Daltonites" in Bridgnorth to this day!

The doctrines of the body are, in these days of latitudinarianism and free thought and no thought at all, what Mgr. Benson would call "refreshingly orthodox." As we have seen, the idea was not to create a fresh division in Christendom; it was, in view of the apparent danger of complete apostasy, to "strengthen the things that remain, which are ready to die" (Apoc. iii. 2). At the outset, therefore, the "Apostles" collected from the various parts of Christendom all that they thought was most valuable, and the result was a remarkably sound body of doctrine. They hold tenaciously to the "three great Creeds of Christendom"—the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of St. Athanasius. Their Christology is sound, and they abhor Modernism in all its forms. A word or two about their teaching on some points may not be out of place.

With them, as with us, the Holy Eucharist is the centre of devotion, but it is not easy to see quite clearly what exactly they mean by the "Real Presence." They deny both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, but this may arise from a reverential shrinking from trying to state too precisely in human language what is a great mystery of faith. Moreover, the "apostles" were no philosophers, and used words like *substance* in what we should consider a very loose sense. That they may speak for themselves, we quote a few sentences from *Readings on the Liturgy*, by J. B. Cardale, who

was the "Peter" among the "apostles." He says (p. 162):

The holy gifts *were* bread and wine; but we have offered to Almighty God solemn and deliberate prayer that He will bless them and send down His Spirit and make them to us the Body and Blood of His Son; we have pronounced over them the words of Christ, pointing to them as His Body and Blood; and we are now about to present them before God, as the bread of life and the cup of salvation. The intent and meaning, therefore, of these passages is, that the sacramental elements have become that which we besought of God to make them, the Body and Blood of His Son; *and where His Body and Blood are, His whole human nature—soul as well as body—and Himself in His Divine personality, are not absent.*

The words italicized read at first sight very much like the Council of Trent, but contrast what we read further (p. 168):

We have upon the altar, under the outward form or veil of the substances of bread and wine, the Body and Blood of Christ really but spiritually present; and where His Body and Blood are present, there He is present Himself.

If the word *substance* is here used as itself forming the veil, the doctrine is theologically unsound. Concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice we have the following in the Catechism:

Q. Is, then, the Eucharist a sacrifice? A. Yes; it is the great memorial sacrifice offered continually, in commemoration of the one Oblation offered upon the cross, once for all, by Jesus Christ; for herein we do show forth the Lord's death till He come. And we present therein before God, the Body and Blood of Christ broken and shed for us; even as Christ Himself, our High Priest in the heavens, appears before God as the Lamb as it had been slain.

Great importance is attached to Confirmation, or "the laying on of the Apostles' hands," as being found in the New Testament, and often spoken of by St. Paul as the "sealing" of the Holy Spirit. Here we may remark that the body is divided into twelve "tribes," distributed geographically over Europe, an "apostle" being placed over each. The account of the sealing of the tribes, read in the Roman Liturgy on All Saints' Day—"of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve

thousand," etc.—is interpreted as being prophetic of the gathering of this select company from the various parts of Christendom. It is further held that in Confirmation are bestowed the *χαρίσματα* or gifts of the Spirit mentioned by St. Paul—prophecy, speaking in tongues, healing, etc. These are considered as part of the normal life of the Church.

Concerning Baptismal Regeneration and the sanctity of marriage the "Catholic Apostolics" are thoroughly sound. They also lay stress on the fact that they fulfil the injunction of St. James to anoint the sick with oil. This was indeed an innovation in Victorian England. Further, such fads as "Christian Science" are strongly condemned, as also (we may remark in passing) is "Spiritualism," which is regarded as a direct work of Satan.

Another interesting aspect of the "apostles'" teaching is the prophetic interpretation of Holy Scripture. As an example we give their view of the epistles to the seven churches in Asia (Apoc. ii. and iii.). These are regarded as prophetic of the Church's history, and indeed the interpretation is very ingenious. Ephesus represents the Apostolic age and that immediately following, when Christians were beginning to lose their "first love." Smyrna represents the period of the great persecutions: "I know thy tribulation and thy poverty. . . . Behold, the devil will send some of you into prison. . . . Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life." Pergamos is the Church coming forth from the Catacombs, and allying herself with the secular power under Constantine—the age of Arius and the great heresiarchs: "Thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel." Then we come to the age which should interest us especially, the Middle Age, when the Papacy flourished—Thyatira is Rome. The name is interpreted as "toil in sacrifice"—the countless Masses that were offered "from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof," ascending in clouds of sweet-smelling incense from thousands of altars to the throne of God. The attitude of the body to the Catholic Church is on the whole friendly; they say that Rome is to be admired for having kept "the faith once delivered to the saints" more than all others. "That which you have, hold fast till I come." And note the striking promise made to Thyatira: "He that shall overcome, and keep my works unto the end, to him will I give

power over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, and as the vessel of a potter shall they be broken, even as I received from my Father; and I will give him the morning star." Then comes the period of Protestant ascendancy, represented by Sardis. And the epistle is one of reproof: "I know thy works, that thou hast the name that thou livest, and thou art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, which are ready to die. For I find not thy works full before my God. . . . But thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments!" The Church in Philadelphia is of interest as representing the nineteenth century, the period of the movement itself. The name means "love of the brethren," a virtue for which members of the body deserve all praise. In this epistle is the watchword that inspired the beginnings of the movement: "Behold I come quickly!" Lastly we have the period of Laodicea, the "rule of the people," the democratic age in which we live, and which the "prophets" have pointed out as the beginning of the end. And here the interpretation is most striking, as describing the religious indifference of the present day. "I know thy works: that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot! . . . Behold, I stand at the door, and knock; if any man shall hear my voice, and open to me the gate, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." This last verse is taken to refer to the speedy appearance of our Lord, when those who are ready will go in to the marriage-supper of the Lamb.

We now come to what is the masterpiece of the movement—its Liturgy. As the "apostles" gathered all that they considered best in the teaching of the various parts of Christendom, so they selected the best forms of worship, and the result is a truly admirable work. We can give but the barest outline here. The central act is of course the "Holy Eucharist." This follows the main lines of the Roman Mass in its ceremonies, and many of the prayers are free translations from the Missal. Around it is the daily round of prayer and praise of the "Divine Offices," drawn from the Roman Breviary and the Greek Offices, with some prayers from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. The worship is conducted with much pomp and splendour; lights, incense, and "holy water" are provided for, and the vestments are those of the Roman Rite.

What we might call the *Proprium de Tempore* contains many liturgical gems. In view of the special "mission" of the body, the season of Advent is kept with great solemnity. The anthem "Drop down, ye heavens, your dew from above" (*Rorate coeli*) appears, and on the eight days preceding Christmas the Great Antiphons (*O Sapientia*, etc.) are sung. At Christmas the hymn *Adeste fideles* has a place at Matins, and appears again as a Sequence after the Epistle. Holy Week and Easter are kept in much the same way as with us. At Pentecost the *Veni Creator* is sung after the Epistle.

Besides the Liturgy there is an official hymn-book. This contains translations of most of the Breviary hymns and other Latin and Greek hymns, as *Adore Te devote*, *Ecce Panis Angelorum*, *Iesu dulcis memoria*, *Dies irae*. Among modern hymns are some by Faber and Newman.

All that remains is briefly to suggest a method of dealing with individuals of the movement whom we may meet. On account of their unique position, they are very difficult to convert. Their attitude to the Catholic Church is, as we have said, very friendly, but they have a most persistent belief in their own mission. At present they are in a very bad way; the last "apostle" died in 1901, and since then the "angels" have been carrying on as best they can. But there are no ordinations; being without "apostles" they feel they have not the necessary authority. It is difficult to obtain statistics of the present state of the body; in England there are certainly not more than 50 churches, and this is a very liberal estimate, including as it does the smaller congregations served from the larger churches. *Whitaker* gives 80 churches for England, but it is doubtful whether there were so many, even when the "apostles" were still alive. The "Church in Westminster" was closed a few years ago, and is now a "Chapel of ease" for the Catholic Cathedral, having been opened by Cardinal Bourne as St. Anne's. In the event of the movement breaking up, it may be that some of the members will be drawn to us. It is difficult to see how the Church of England can satisfy them, even less now perhaps than when they first began; for at present, outside the Catholic Church, the "Catholic Apostolic Church" is the only body in Protestant lands that, as a body, holds firmly to the main truths of supernatural revelation, the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, the principle of Authority, the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and so on; and they will not com-

promise on any of these points. We must be positive in dealing with them, not negative. However much we may believe them to be deluded, we must dwell rather on the positive truth they profess, and show how we alone of all those who call themselves Christians, can offer them that which they desire so ardently, Apostolic Authority. They are quite right in their belief that Apostles, not Bishops, are the supreme rulers of Christ's flock. It is their conception of the apostolate that is mistaken. They are wrong in thinking that, after St. John, the Church was without Apostolic rule for centuries, and that therefore it was necessary to restore it; for St. Peter still lives in Pius the Eleventh, who is not only Bishop of the diocese of Rome, but *Pater Patrum* and supreme Pastor and Teacher of all the flock of the Divine Shepherd, clergy and people alike. If they could show the same wonderful docility in receiving the teaching of the Vicar of Christ as they have shown in treasuring every word that came from the lips of their own "apostles," what good and loyal Catholics they would be! Their own interpretation of Scripture points out Thyatira (Rome) as having "power over the nations," and even now some of their "prophets" are pointing to Rome as the Church of the future. They will have to change very little of their doctrine and practice; they will have to readjust their point of view. Doctrinal difficulties would disappear; for once they came to recognize the successor of St. Peter as the centre of authority, they would at once accept all his teaching, so great is their reverence for authority. And in the fold of Peter they will find all they have lost, and much more besides; they will find themselves under Apostolic Authority and upon the Rock that has stood firm throughout the ages, though they knew it not but wished it had been so. *Quod jaxit Deus!*

CLIFFORD ROWSELL.

BRITISH DIPLOMACY AND THE • SONDERBUND WAR, 1847

THE three weeks' civil war that raged in Switzerland at the end of 1847 between seven Catholic cantons, enrolled since 1843 in a separate League or "Sonderbund," and the rest of the Confederation, ended in the defeat of the Catholics and the maintenance of disabilities from which they continue to suffer to some extent till this day. In a well-known work of reference, "The Statesman's Year Book," we read this comforting assurance: "There is [in Switzerland] complete and absolute liberty of conscience and of creed," but immediately several radical qualifications give that statement the lie. For instance: "No bishoprics can be created on Swiss territory without the approbation of the Confederation. The Order of Jesuits and its affiliated societies cannot be received in any part of Switzerland. . . . The foundation of new convents or religious orders is forbidden." It may astonish people that such relics of bigoted intolerance should still cling to the constitution of a State, wherein Catholics form 41 % of the population against a Protestant 57 %, and where Catholics are in a majority in ten out of the twenty-two cantons. However, as we shall see, the anomaly is of long-standing, and it was the earlier intolerance exhibited by the Protestant majority of the Swiss Federation that provoked the Sonderbund revolt. Even to-day the same danger from excessive and unconstitutional paternalism, motivated by sub-conscious antipathy to religious claims, threatens another Federation, that of the United States of America.

We must briefly consider the condition of Switzerland at that time. The country had hardly recovered from the tyranny of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, and was in a bad state. It was wholly unlike the prosperous and powerful country (considering its size) to which we are accustomed. The constitution was that known as the Federal Pact established at Vienna in 1815, when Europe was reconstructed after the overthrow of Napoleon.

The Swiss then, as now, attached great importance to, and showed great jealousy for, Cantonal independence. Con-

sequently, the action of the majority in the Federal Diet in dictating the kind of education to be given in the Catholic cantons and insisting on the expulsion of the Jesuits and other Congregations was certain to provoke resistance. It was a breach of the Pact. The Pact certainly did not contemplate the forming of a secession Government, but the provocation came from the Protestant headquarters at Bern. The radical majority did not desire peace, and on the side of the Sonderbund, its president, Siegwart Müller, was inclined to be high-handed, and the deputies of the Uri and Schwyz were somewhat violent.

It was primarily a religious war caused by persecution, but not wholly; for Soleure and Ticino, Catholic cantons, were with the Bund, and the Protestant but aristocratic canton of Basel inclined to the separate league, as did the patricians of Bern. It may also be regarded as the resistance of the more conservative cantons, which were and are mainly Catholic, to a wave of masonic and atheistic radicalism in Bern, Zürich, and Vaud especially. In defence of religion and conservatism the "Forest cantons," with Zug, formed a compact block, and there were the outlying cantons of Fribourg and the Valais. Basel and Neuchâtel, the latter still a Prussian enclave, were neutral: all the rest were attached, some very tenuously, to the Bund.

Matters were complicated by the prospect of intervention by the Great Powers, but agreement amongst these latter took place too late. The accession to the Presidency of the French Council, in August, of M. Guizot made things more favourable to the Sonderbund. This distinguished man, a Protestant, was determined to stamp out liberalism, and his master, who had long hesitated, followed his lead. Both Louis Philippe and Ferdinand were determined to have no foyers of insurrection in mid-Europe if they could help it. The course of the last seventy years shows that they were right.

The British minister to the Confederation, Mr. Peel, the eldest son of the famous Sir Robert, was clearly in favour of the patricians and against democracy up to a certain point. After the Secretary, Mr. Herries, left he began to be influenced by the anti-Catholic spirit of the country, especially in what concerned the Jesuits. There was then a doctrinaire liberal Government in power in England, as unfortunately happened at the time of Gari-

baldi thirteen years later. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, though certainly not pro-Catholic, were always against mob-movements. Peel seems also to have taken very much to heart the ignominious fall of Fribourg; like all Englishmen he liked a good fighter, and after the stand at Gisikon again showed sympathy for the Sonderbund. He was an extremely able and conscientious diplomatist and laid the base of the regard which the Swiss henceforth felt for us.

What was the offence of the Society of Jesus in the eyes of the Protestant majority? Its members were too successful in education and in preserving the youth from the attacks of masonry and atheism; they made too many converts; in short, they followed up too closely St. Peter Canisius's work in the same country. To call them a foreign and political sect was manifestly untrue. The great majority were Swiss. As naturally happens in a cosmopolitan Order, a few foreign Jesuits were no doubt amongst them, but as a body they were no more foreign than the Benedictines and Capuchins whom, though they possessed far greater wealth, in the first case, and great influence, in the second, the Diet dared not touch. As regards the Jesuits, the cloud of calumny created by the Bourbons had done its work. The restoration of the Society in 1814 was still too recent an event, and prejudice amongst the ignorant Swiss, as they were then, even amongst Catholics, was easily aroused.

The general course of events is clearly traced by the following extracts from Peel's despatches to Palmerston:

MR. PEEL'S DESPATCHES FROM BERN TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Oct. 10 [1847]. Schaffhausen, as was to be expected, has supported the majority and both sides are active. Schwyz was the first to move on the side of the Sonderbund and all the Forest cantons with Zug are unanimous. These mountaineers, remarkable for superstitious devotion, are really convinced that their civil and religious liberty are at stake. Bern has called out all the military force. This shows fear of the patricians in the canton such as the Von Merz, Aeschenberg, etc., but reaction in their favour is not probable.

Oct. 14. Ochsenbein and the radicals are resolved not to accept outside mediation. They say that liberal Switzerland is strong enough to dissolve the Sonderbund, remove the Jesuits, and settle Ultramontanism.

Oct. 16. St. Gallen and the Grisons by a very slender majority have voted the employment of force to make the Sonderbund submit to the decree of July 20. The Diet is thus entitled to act, which removes the risk of the repetition of filibustering expeditions as in 1844-45. The patricians are uneasy from the violence of the radical press.

Oct. 18. Bern is in an agitated state and the urban guard has been selected in a disgraceful manner. The guards are of the lowest class devoted to liberalism and are capable of committing any excesses.

Oct. 19. The district of Morat has declared against its own Government, Fribourg. Luzern [Lucerne] in defiance of the Vorort has seized all Federal tackle, and Siegwart Müller only two days ago professed pacific intentions.

[Mr. Peel was insulted by some of the guard and threatened with violence.]

Oct. 21. I have demanded apology from two members of the Government and a guard of honour for the legation, otherwise I shall proceed to Basel. The city is most lawless. A Catholic soldier from the Jura started shouting *Vivent les Jésuites*; he was seized by an officer and some soldiers came up and killed him on the spot. This was followed by a regular scuffle. The urban guard are mere armed and licensed ruffians. They broke into Am Rhyn's house, who is unpopular with the liberals, and murdered one of his servants. The diplomatic body is scandalised. Bern will make no concession on the Jesuits because it regards them less as an Order than a political body dangerous to the Confederation.

Dufour, a good artillery officer but of no capabilities for directing a campaign, has been chosen general in chief. Milliet Constant and Ochsenbein are displeased at their rejection, but Dufour has far more sense than either of them and has a reputation for humanity.

Oct. 22. The Schultheiss¹ of Luzern [for the Sonderbund] refuses to treat further and threatens all who circulate the proclamation of the Diet with criminal proceedings.

Oct. 25. A stormy session in the Diet. A Vaudois deputy, Druey, a violent democrat, voluble and windy as

¹ An old title going back to XVI. century. We should call him now the Statthalter.

is always so in such cases, attacked Dufour. The situation in St. Gallen is menacing. The Government has a radical majority, but the folk, under the influence of the priests in many cases, hurl down their arms, crying,—*Long live the Sonderbund, Down with Democracy.*

Chancellor Am Rhyn has resigned. He will never consent to a decree for a war on his fatherland (Luzern). The Confederation has lost a very able and honourable man, long suspect to the democracy.

[A list of generals of division, etc., follows, and number of troops, in all about 50,000.]

Oct. 28. Dufour's communication as to strict discipline, no meddling in politics, and protection for the Catholic churches, priests, and Orders, is admirable, but displeases the majority.

Oct. 30. The last attempt at compromise has failed, which was a proposal of the Valais to put the question of the Jesuits before the Pope and binding that and the other cantons to abide by his verdict. War seems inevitable.

Nov. 1. I send the manifesto of Siegwart Müller to all the 22 cantons and to the foreign powers. [French original.]

"It has been reserved for the intolerance of the XIX century to declare in the heart of free Switzerland that the sovereign Catholic states, in the choice of those to whom they will to confide religious instruction and the sacred ministry, must bow to the Protestant states, and submit to the orders of a Protestant majority. If once this oppression be legalised the Pact is broken and liberty has disappeared from Switzerland."

Luzern: Bernhard Meyer.

Vincenz Fischer.

Unterwalden (2): Fr. Durrer.

N. Hermann.

Uri: Karl Buhs Muheim.

Schwyz: Oethiker.

Zug: C. Bossard.

Fribourg: Fournier.

Valais: de Werra.

The manifesto for the Powers is countersigned by J. Weber of Schwyz.

Nov. 2. A Jesuit, Fr. O'Mahoney, of the College of Fribourg, wrote to me about the English students, so I went to converse with the Rector and also gave a casual survey of the defences. He asked me for English passports, which I gave. The college is an immense building

and must be the scene of severe fighting; whoever holds it will to a great extent be master of the town. The troops are in excellent spirits but failing some diversion can hardly resist overwhelming force: 50,000 now, plus 40,000 reservists. On the other hand many of the federal troops have but small enthusiasm for the cause in which they are engaged.

Nov. 4. I had an interview with Ochsenbein and read to him as instructed. I read No. 23 to point out the danger of a war of Catholic and Protestant. He stopped me, exclaiming: "Ah! these are the opinions of Austria and France whose pernicious influence has long been felt. How can it be a religious war when Soleure and Ticino, wholly Catholic, and St. Gallen, in great part, are against the Sonderbund?"¹ We fight for the Pact and in opposition to foreign intrigues: at length we have a majority and intend to make ourselves obeyed."

I then read No. 21 alluding to the probability of foreign intervention. Ochsenbein said: "Then let it come; we may cease to be a nation but I would rather that than remain in the position we have so long and so ingloriously occupied. The liberal views of our party are constantly neutralised by the retrograde policy of the others." Liberalism is by no means synonymous with that in England, but of far more significant meaning. I implored him to use his influence for delay, especially as Minto² was even now in Rome and in negotiations about the Jesuits. Ochsenbein said it was too late, the Sardinian envoy had failed and so would Minto. [The Vatican had said that representations must be made immediately by the cantons.]

Nov. 4. Formal declaration of war. I consider the haste of the radicals very significant. They refuse to listen to the friendly advice of H.M. Government until Minto's results be known. I spent one hour reasoning with Ochsenbein and reading to him. Ochsenbein pre-

¹ This is plausible, but Ticino then was a republic of the extreme left. The case of Soleure is rather unique. Always very Catholic it yet always supported the *de jure* government. After the murder of Henry III. (1589), when nearly all the Catholic cantons put into the Leaguer interest, Aregger's and von Grissach's—Soleure regiments—fought for Henry IV. at Ivry.

² Palmerston to Peel. Tell Ochsenbein that Minto will try and induce the Pope to issue some Bull [*sic*] against the Jesuits in Switzerland. It must be clear to the Vorort that if they attack the Catholic Cantons it will be regarded as a quasi-religious war. Is Ochsenbein so sure of winning? The Forest Cantons are far more warlike than most of the Bund.

tended that the majority had made all the advances and the minority none, a clearly unfounded statement, as can be proved from the final conference. He plainly desired Minto's failure and the suppression of the Sonderbund, otherwise the plans of radical reform which have unhappily turned the head of the majority might fail. On the war vote Neuchâtel, Basel, and Appenzell abstained. Owing to the outbreak of war I again turned my attention to our Jesuit scholars,¹ whose parents are probably ignorant of imminent danger. So I sent Mr. Herries with order and pass from Dufour and also an explanation to the Rector.

Nov. 8. The Government of Bern is acting very arbitrarily to all opposed in politics. The correspondent of the *Débats*, a poor Pole, with a French passport, has been arrested. This is to show their spite to M. Guizot and the Royal Government.

No sure military news. Indecisive skirmishing near Bulle, and apparently the failure of a surprise attack from Uri on Ticino in which Am Rhyn's nephew was killed.

Nov. 8. Mr. Herries has returned with the nine scholars. The Rector entirely agreed with my views and in accordance with his I have sent them to Strasbourg. Mr. Herries had many difficulties in passing two armies but he acted with judgment and prudence. M. Massignac was sent on a similar mission for French and Spanish subjects. They were obliged to pass by Morat, the radical district of Fribourg, and were assailed by rude cries. Massignac says that the college will be wholly destroyed and the Jesuits murdered if the radicals take Fribourg.

Nov. 13. Luzern has had a success at Dietwyl (Aargau) and the Schwyzers have beaten the Zurichers on the Sihl. Uri has failed at Airola and the Fribourgeois are being pushed in by Milliet Constant.

Nov. 14. Extraordinary conduct of the Directory. A communication about the war has been sent to all representatives except Bois le Comte and myself.

Nov. 14. Fribourg has ignominiously fallen. There was indeed but little chance of success. They would have done better at once to declare their inability to resist than, after such protestations, in the time of danger to have

¹ Victoria took a personal interest in their welfare and Palmerston had to show her all despatches relating to them.

acted as cowards. Dufour's terms too lenient to please the majority. Salis Soglio has had a bad check in Aargau. Things look badly for the Sonderbund.

Nov. 15. [Peel's interview with Dufour.] The general said that the defences were really strong and the country without roads and almost impassible. His only loss was a Vaudois contingent. The collapse was probably due to the fact that the Fribourgeois relied on discontent amongst the federals and never expected a serious attack. The radicals want bloody victories: they will not get them so long as Dufour commands.

[Peel returns again and again to the cowardice of the Fribourgeois and the dismay of the conservative elements in Bern. From this time his sympathy for the Sonderbund grows less and less. Neither he nor Dufour expected the same ease in dealing with Luzern. The next despatch shows a complete change of ground.]

Nov. 17. The influence of France, once omnipotent here, has greatly dwindled since Bois le Comte's coming. This is due to M. Guizot's instructions to combat and thwart liberalism in every way and, unfortunately, not only that extreme communism which is in the heads of some authorities, but even a gradual extension of political liberties and intellectual advancement. It is profitless to support the patricians, they are not worth the trouble, estimable as many individuals are. It is futile to strike in for the prevalence of conservatism and Bois le Comte's action is dangerous to France. For signs of sympathy for the Bund appear in parts of France and especially in Alsace.

Nov. 17. By M. Guizot's instructions Bois le Comte has left for Basel. He was accredited to the 22, not to 12, cantons, and he determined to visit Luzern. Dufour referred him to the Vorort. Le Comte would not condescend to ask of Bern and gave Dufour 24 hours for a reply. The King no longer recognizes the authority of the Directory. This is a most important step. Austria, Prussia, and Russia have also pronounced against the state of affairs in the Confederation.

Nov. 19. Owing to the report of great destruction of property at Fribourg, Peel sent Lieut.-Col. Sir W. Davison to inspect. He found that there was much exaggeration, but the troops were quartered in the Jesuit College, where

all property was destroyed; more than the stipulated number, 20,000, had entered the town; M. Fournier's house had been sacked. The troops were under good discipline generally, except Ochsenbein's, who have committed these and other wanton acts of damage. The Rector and Fathers and M. Fournier escaped to Neuchâtel. The fall is attributed to insubordination. General Maillandoz, a Napoleonic veteran, did all he could to prevent the wholesale desertions. He was in imminent danger but likewise got away to Neuchâtel.

Nov. 22. An overwhelming force advances on Luzern. Continual fighting in Ticino. The men of Uri and the Valais defeated the Ticinese on the Gotthard and drove them back to Bellinzona where they seem to have rallied.

A decree of the Canton of Fribourg banishes permanently the Jesuits and many other Orders and confiscates their property. It runs to the effect that the adherence of the Canton to the Sonderbund was the work of the Jesuits and their *affiliés*.

Nov. 22. [Cipher.] The war in Switzerland will be over and the Sonderbund cease to exist before the mediation of the Powers can be offered. I beg your Lordship to hesitate. The sense of the country is hostile to the measure; agreeing, we shall lose the influence at our disposal to discountenance whatever endeavours H.M. Govt: may think fit. [This cipher is unclear.]

Nov. 24. The majority are wholly opposed to the joint mediation of H.M. Government and would resist intervention. The separate league is obnoxious to the majority, not only for its illegality but because a religious and political sect, almost universally detested, found therein a focus of operation and intrigue against the whole Confederation.

Nov. 25. The Sonderbund troops were found strongly entrenched near Cham. Salis Soglio's position at Gisikon and Root was well chosen and Grüm's division was entirely cut off from Ziegler's, as the only bridge over the Reuss (Gisikon) was destroyed. Salis' force was much inferior in numbers, but his batteries and the famous riflemen of the Forest cantons compensated, and the chances might have been balanced but, unfortunately (how often in similar cases has not the cowardly revenge of a fellow-countryman destroyed the hope of a gallant band, for

these were very different to the Fribourg "patriots"), a political refugee of Luzern acted as guide to Ziegler and brought his division by difficult and to them unknown paths to effect a junction with Grüm's. Ziegler reached Gisikon and threw a bridge of boats over the Reuss, and silencing a battery attacked Salis' rear. These men offered a desperate resistance for hours but were finally routed and Grüm and Ziegler, pushing on their sweep, gained the heights of Rottenburg¹ and captured a battery at Wesserlin,² whence they entirely commanded the capital. In this bloody series of fights the refugee Buch, a judgment on his perfidy, was actually cut in two by the first cannon shot from the Luzern battery at Gisikon. Salis was wounded in the cheek and escaped into Schwyz with the rest of his troops. Siegwart Müller, the Jesuits, and the archivist escaped by steamer and reached Altdorf. It is very improbable that at this season the federal Government will risk disaster in the inhospitable regions of Schwyz and Uri in following the wreck of the Sonderbund army.

Nov. 27. A very important move. The Diet, now that the Sonderbund is no more, will almost certainly send a large force to Neuchâtel and expel the King of Prussia from his territory.³

Dec. 2. The Valais forces made a capitulation at Bex, of which the terms were agreed between Louis de Torrenté and Milliet Constant.

A provisional Government under Casimir Pfyffer has been elected in Luzern.

The Orders which were expelled from the Confederation, in most cases by the intimidation of the Cantonal Governments, were: The Society of Jesus, Redemptorists, Frères de Marie, Frères de l'Ecole Chrétienne, Sœurs de St. Joseph, Sœurs de St. V.P., Sœurs du Sacré Cœur.

We may see from the foregoing that Peel's foresight was at fault when he praised Dufour but called him a man of no military capabilities. It was very providential that he was made Commander-in-Chief, instead of one of the

¹ Not the town of Rottenburg on the Sempach road, but Peel means the ridge of Rottenberg above the small Rotsee.

² Wessemlin, where is a large Capuchin friary.

³ This took place in the following March, but the formal cession was delayed until 1857.

red republicans. He was prudent and strong, and set his face resolutely against revenge and violence. To him, indeed, is due the fact that the war left so little prolonged ill-feeling. His name is still held in respect by his countrymen.

Ochsenbein was a graceless democrat of the lowest type and his force came badly to grief near Schüpfheim against the Luzerners. His civil colleagues were no better, but the Bund's officers in high command were greatly superior.

Salis Soglio, a Protestant, was a man of no particular merit, but he fought bravely enough at Gisikon; still neither he nor Siegwart Müller really rose to the occasion.

God brings good out of evil and the Switzerland of to-day, like the United States of America, once similarly threatened by disruption, shows that the instinct that fought for unity was sound. No one now thinks that as a divided country it could have endured; at the same time the moral right—freedom of conscience against secularism—was on the side of the Sonderbund. The secession Cantons were fighting for their local autonomous rights in the matter of religion and education. These rights are now practically disputed by none; although, as we have pointed out, they are denied by the letter of the Constitution.

MAURICE WILKINSON.

FATHER DAVID WOLFE, S.J.

IN the first of a series of articles contributed to THE MONTH, in 1890, by the late Rev. Dr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., who afterwards expanded them into a book for the *Quarterly Series*, under the title of "Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century" (1894), there appeared a fairly full account of the life and labours of Father David Wolfe, S.J. Towards the conclusion of the article Father Hogan writes thus:

The last years of the life of this extraordinary man are involved in an obscurity which I tried to penetrate a quarter of a century ago, by consulting the original documents in Rome. I failed to get at them, on account of circumstances over which neither I nor anyone else had control. What a chequered life was that of this most distinguished, perhaps, of all citizens of Limerick! He first comes into view as Rector of the Jesuit College of Modena, he establishes a college in the Valtelline, declines the dignity of a Bishop and the pomp and circumstance of a *nunziatura*, and through perils on sea and land, journeying through woods and bogs, in a loathsome prison, "through good and ill he was Ireland's still"; and amidst the distracting political issues that tore Ireland piecemeal, he sought nothing but the good of his country, provided her with prelates of the most distinguished merit, and instructed and comforted her faithful people.

It is the merest justice to the memory of my old friend, Rev. Dr. Hogan, S.J., to give unstinted praise to his memoir of Father Wolfe (who was received into the Society of Jesus by St. Ignatius himself, in 1546) from the year 1560—when he was sent by Cardinal Morone, Protector of Ireland, to do what he could for the Irish Church—to 1572, when he escaped from his loathsome prison. But, from 1572 to 1578, Father Hogan's account is brief and jejune, while the dates are not quite consistent with facts, yet the erudite author of the "Onomasticon" is not to blame, inasmuch as he was unable to consult the Roman documents now accessible. Therefore, in view of the recently published

"Calendar of State Papers, Rome, 1572-1578" (London, 1926), it may be of interest to place before the readers of *THE MONTH* a résumé of the documents dealing with the doings of this saintly Irish Jesuit from 1572 to 1578.

But first it may be well to explain that in 1570 Sir James Fitzmaurice of Desmond took up the Geraldine cause and determined (owing to civil and religious persecution) to enlist foreign aid in defence of Faith and Fatherland. However, the curse of dissension prevailed, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert practically crushed the movement, and was enabled to announce that almost all the "rebels" had surrendered, and had sworn allegiance, "all, save the arch-rebel James Fitzmaurice." Sir John Perrot, Lord President of Munster, adopted the unusual course of challenging Sir James Fitzmaurice to a duel in November, 1571, but the latter, fearing treachery, failed to appear, and simply played for time in order to enlist help from France or Spain. At length Fitzmaurice submitted to Perrot, at Kilmallock, on February 23, 1573, and Queen Elizabeth deemed it good policy to liberate the Earl of Desmond and his brother, Sir John of Desmond.

In Father Hogan's book we read that Wolfe "escaped in the month of October, 1572, accompanied by Sir Rice Corbally," but probably "1572" may be a typographical error for "1573," and this is the more likely inasmuch as the statement appears to be taken from the "Calendar of State Papers," Ireland, which gives a precis of a printed document written by Matthew Shine, Protestant Bishop of Cork, enclosed in a letter from the Lord Deputy to Burghley, dated "October 13, 1573," and evidently penned some days earlier: "The Romish pardoner, Sir David Wolfe, has gone to Spain with J. Fitzmaurice's son and Sir R. Corbally, priest" ("Cal. S.P., Ireland, 1509-1573," p. 524). However, from the "Cal. S.P., Rome, 1572-1578," we learn from Wolfe himself that this incident occurred in July, 1572: "At the port of Wexford, the ships cannot be of great draught by reason of the bar at the mouth of the river. This bar I crossed on my escape from Dublin Castle on 26 July, 1572, and it being already night when I entered the town I could not well survey it," etc.

To the student of Irish history the most interesting document in the "Calendar" is Father Wolfe's "Description of the Realm of Ireland, its Maritime Ports and Cities, with the Names of the Bishoprics, Lords, Counts, and Nobles of that

Realm made at the instance of his illustrious Lordship Don John Borgia, Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty in the Kingdom of Portugal," dated Lisbon, March 24, 1574.

On December 20, 1574, the Bishop of Padua, who was Nuncio in Spain, wrote as follows to the Cardinal of Como: "There is come hither from Ireland Father David [Wolfe], the Jesuit, who is of that country, to crave his Majesty's aid for James Fitzmaurice of the Earls of Desmond, a Catholic, and a valiant gentleman, who has taken up arms against the heretics, and has sent one of his sons, a boy of twelve years, by way of hostage, who, however, remains in Portugal."

In March, 1575, Sir James Fitzmaurice (Fitzgerald) sailed for Spain, having previously, on February 28th, written a letter to the Earl of Ormond that he was merely "going abroad for the recovery of his health." As a fact, Fitzmaurice and his kinsman the White Knight—Sir Edmund FitzGerald—left Ireland together, in order to solicit aid from the King of Spain, but their movements were well watched, and, on April 12, 1575, Queen Elizabeth wrote a letter to the Earl of Ormond thanking him "for having advertised the departure of James Fitzmaurice and the White Knight without licence" ("Cal. of S.P., Ireland, 1574—1585," p. 60). It may be well to explain that in the Catholic Confederation of the Desmonds at this period, we find Patrick Fitzgerald, Baron of Lixnaw, William Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, Edmond Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, and Edmond Fitzgerald, the White Knight, all Geraldines.

At Father Wolfe's request, the Pope, on May 3, 1575, issued a Brief to Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, giving him faculties for the whole province of Cashel, as the Archbishop was in Spain. At this date Sir James Fitzmaurice was at the French Court, and we find a letter from Henry III., King of France, to Queen Elizabeth, interceding for favour to Fitzmaurice—a letter which was intercepted and sent to the Lord Deputy of Ireland on July 18, 1575 ("Cal. S.P., Ireland," p. 75).

Father Edmund Hogan says that Father Wolfe, S.J., was in Ireland "all through the year 1575," but it seems much more likely that he went to Rome, and continued in the Eternal City for at least a year. We find the Spanish Nuncio, in a letter dated from Madrid, on January 18, 1576, telling the Cardinal of Como that he had recently received a letter from "Father David" from Rome, "who, by what

I understand, has already arrived there and will report to us" ("Cal. S.P., Rome, 1572—1578," p. 246). It is certain that Fitzmaurice was at St. Malo's on January 31, 1576, as on that date he wrote a letter from there to the General of the Jesuits in Rome, signed: "Jacobus Mauricii Desmoniae de Geraldinis," in which he expresses his thanks for many favours, adding that "the only return I have made for all your kindness is that one of your Society has been cut off by a violent death on my account" ("Irish Jesuit Archives," Hist. MSS. Com.)—alluding to the martyrdom of Rev. Edmund O'Donnell, S.J., who was executed by Perrot, at Cork, on October 25, 1572.

It appears most likely that Father Wolfe remained in Rome all through the year 1576, and was joined there by Sir James Fitzmaurice. Anyhow, from the Roman State Papers it is evident that both of these worthies had departed from Rome in the last week of February, 1577 ("Cal. S.P., Rome," p. 293). A secret service agent of the English Government reported to Lord President Drury of Munster, on February 19, 1577, that James Fitzmaurice had left Rome for France, and was about to visit the Kings of Spain and Portugal to seek aid for his enterprise in Ireland, adding: "David Wolfe will be sent to the Indies" ("Cal. S.P., Ireland, 1574—1585," p. 152).

From a letter written by the Papal Nuncio in Spain to the Cardinal of Como, dated from Madrid, May 31, 1577, it is beyond question that Father David Wolfe was at that date in Madrid, with James Fitzmaurice and Patrick O'Hely, O.F.M., Bishop of Mayo, as well as Rev. Dr. Nicholas Sanders. Some months later, in August, he was with Fitzmaurice in Lisbon, endeavouring to enlist the aid of the King of Portugal to obtain a ship to sail for Ireland.

Father Wolfe remained in Lisbon during the autumn and early winter of 1577. An interesting reference to him occurs in a letter from Robert Fontana, Collector and Referendary, from the Vatican, to the Cardinal of Como, dated Lisbon, November 29, 1577: "James Fitzmaurice has left here the priest, David Wolfe, who was his interpreter, and the Irish Bishop, Cornelius O'Ryan of Killaloe, that he [the latter] may speedily go to Madrid to negotiate for him with the Catholic King" ("Cal. S.P., Rome," p. 355).

James Fitzmaurice, utterly weary of waiting for the proffered aid of France and Spain, set out for Ireland on

November 18, 1577, but after running the hazard of a great tempest was compelled to put into Bayonne in Galicia, from which place he wrote, on December 3rd, to Dr. Sanders. The Papal Nuncio in Spain gives an interesting narrative of Fitzmaurice's gallant attempt to sail for Ireland. His letter is dated from Madrid, March 22, 1578: "By the Collector of Portugal I was apprised that on the morning of the Epiphany [Jan. 6], when Geraldine [Fitzmaurice], after running the hazard of a great tempest and capturing an English ship laden with stuffs, had put into harbour in Galicia, and landed with most of his men to receive Holy Communion, the Master of the ship that he had brought from Portugal made off with the said ship and all the munitions, *leaving him, as he himself wrote to a certain Father David [Wolfe], who resides at Lisbon*, to do as best he might, naked, as it were, and in a desperate plight on that shore . . . The said Collector also writes me that Father David aforesaid had told him some days before, that by means of the Bretons he had learned that Geraldine had brought the English ship into port in Brittany near to a place where the Master of the runaway ship had placed all his goods in the hands of the legal authorities, and that he hoped that Geraldine had recovered them" (*ibid.* p. 390).

Dr. O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, sends the Cardinal of Como an almost similar account of the Geraldine expedition from Lisbon, dated from Paris, March 31, 1578, and this account is at first-hand, as Bishop O'Hely sailed in Fitzmaurice's ship, "hoping," as he writes, "to make a speedy passage to Ireland": "The wind was against them when they sailed from Lisbon, on 18 November, and falling in with an English ship they attacked and took her; but, at the intercession of the writer [Bishop O'Hely], James Fitzmaurice refrained from executing the prisoners, and sent them ashore under escort to be dealt with by the Spanish Inquisition. They then attempted to continue their voyage, but after battling for more than a month with adverse winds they were compelled to hug the coast of Spain, off which they lay weatherbound for twenty days, by which time their provisions began to fail, and many of their soldiers deserted: and one feast day [Jan. 6] while the writer and some of his intimates were ashore, the master and mariners deserted with the ship and sailed away to Brittany, taking with them provisions, money, arms, and all else. The writer and James

Fitzmaurice therefore followed him to France in the hope of recovering their property. James remained at St. Malo's, while the writer repaired to Paris to procure a royal warrant for restitution of the goods, which warrant he had not yet obtained; and, meanwhile the robbers had warned the Queen of England to be on her guard, and prevent their passage to Ireland" (*ibid.* p. 395).

From a later letter written by the Bishop of Killaloe (Cornelius O'Ryan) to the Papal Nuncio in Spain, from Lisbon, dated April 12, 1578, we learn that Fitzmaurice "arrived at the city of St. Malo with two English ships, which he had captured at sea, and there recovered all that had been taken from him by that Frenchman who deserted him," also, that "he had gotten from a Breton nobleman, his friend M. de la Roche by name, four ships with soldiers, for which he was to remit payment to him from Ireland" (*ibid.* p. 402).

On April 23, 1578, the Collector Apostolic in Portugal (Robert Fontana) writes to the Cardinal of Como: "As to Geraldine [Fitzmaurice], the Bishop of Killaloe has learned from the Bretons that many days ago he was to have quitted Brittany for Ireland with six ships and 2,000 soldiers given him by his friend, M. de la Roche. Our ship that was in Cadiz has not arrived. *Father David* [Wolfe] says that *M. de la Roche is the same that the Most Christian King sent to Ireland to explore that province*" (*ibid.* p. 413).

From these first-hand accounts it is easy to see the fate of the first attempt of James Fitzmaurice to sail to Ireland on his ill-fated expedition in the winter of 1577-78, and, therefore, it may be well to give the report furnished by Lord President Drury of Munster to the English Privy Council on March 24, 1578, as calendared in the Irish State Papers, under date of March 24, 1578: "James Fitzmaurice having put to sea, *with David Wolfe*, to come to Ireland, took an English ship and sent the men to the Inquisition, where they were executed" ("Cal. S.P., Ireland, 1574-1585." p. 130).

A letter from the Collector Apostolic to the Cardinal of Como, on May 12, 1578, affords us the information that Fitzmaurice was then at Nantes in Brittany, awaiting the promised succour from the King of Spain, including Stukeley's forces, but it is added: "He has but his English ship, well equipped; and has letters from the Earl of Des-

mond, his kinsman in Ireland, urging him to go, though alone," though the Bishop of Killaloe strongly urged Stukeley "to go with the troops to join him, and that they might speedily cross to Ireland" ("Cal. S.P., Rome," p. 429).

Thus we see that Father David Wolfe, S.J., was in Lisbon during the whole of June, 1577, and for almost six months of the year 1578. In April of that year Stukeley, notwithstanding his promises to the Pope, who had equipped him with money and forces for the Irish enterprise, weakly listened to the suggestion of the young King of Portugal, and gave him the Papal supplies for the expedition to Africa. The Papal Collector in Portugal was anxious that Fitzmaurice should come from Brittany to Lisbon and join his forces with those of Stukeley, and in a letter of May 23, 1578, reference is made to a conference held at Lisbon between "an Irish Bishop, Father David [Wolfe], Stukeley, the Collector, and Gambarini," and an agreement that "Geraldine should come thither" (*ibid.* p. 438).

On May 28, 1578, Stukeley [called Marquis of Leinster] wrote to the Cardinal of Como, announcing that "in conjunction with the Bishop of Killaloe and David Wolfe," he is sending a man of credit to Fitzmaurice at St. Malo to summon him to Lisbon." He adds: "The Bishop of Limerick [Hugh Lacy] being dead, the Cardinal is requested to cause the vacant see to be given to David Wolfe" (*ibid.* p. 443).

Less than a week later, on June 3rd, we meet with Father David Wolfe's signature to a document at Lisbon. No doubt he had urged Fitzmaurice to apply to the General of the Jesuits to send two or three learned members of the Society to Ireland, as also to Scotland. The Irish "Calendar of State Papers" contains the reply of Everard Mercurian, General of the Jesuits, dated from Rome on June 28, 1578, in answer to Fitzmaurice's letter of June 17th from Paris, regretting that "the present is not a fitting time to send his men into Scotland or Ireland, as James persuades, but will embrace any favourable opportunity." There is a significant addendum: "Will be glad of any employment for old David Wolfe" ("Cal. S.P., Ireland, 1574-1585," p. 136).

It may be well to note that the report freely circulated to the effect that James Fitzmaurice had departed for Ireland "with six ships and 2,000 soldiers" was entirely erroneous, for the Bishop of Mayo, writing on June 22nd from

Paris, tells the Cardinal of Como that "Geraldine has not been able to charter a vessel of any kind for the voyage" ("Cal. S.P., Rome," p. 456).

The Apostolic Collector, on June 17, informs the Cardinal of Como that the Irish priests in Lisbon had been convinced that Stukeley was "a man of no principle, and had beguiled the Pope: he was leading the troops to certain death, and was not competent for that enterprise, and had neither funds nor friends in Ireland—nay, was hated as an Englishman." The Collector adds that both Stukeley and the Bishop of Killaloe "deemed all the rest save the Rector [Father David Wolfe, formerly Rector of the Jesuit College at Modena] and Cornelius O'Neachtain unfit for this enterprise" (*ibid.* p. 473).

This reference to Father Wolfe by the Papal Collector, on July 17, 1578, is the last I can trace regarding this wonderful missionary, and not improbably he may have joined Stukeley's expedition, which ended so disastrously at the Battle of Alcazar on August 4th. James Fitzmaurice was at Madrid in September-October, 1578, making preparations for his voyage to Ireland, and on October 22nd the new King of Portugal gave the goods and chattels of Stukeley to the Pope's Commissary. Anyhow, it looks not unlikely that Father David passed away before October, for, on November 4th, Pope Gregory XIII. issued a Brief granting "to Father John White, Irish priest, faculty to absolve all penitents applying to him in the realm of Ireland of all sins, including those reserved to the Holy See and comprised in the Bull *Coena Domini*, and likewise heresy and schism; with ample powers of granting dispensations in other matters" (*ibid.* p. 527).

I feel it a privilege to be able to supplement, even slightly, Fr. Hogan's admirable memoir of Fr. David Wolfe, S.J., who has been well described by Cardinal Moran as "one of the most remarkable men who, during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, laboured in our Irish Church to gather together the scattered stones of the sanctuary."

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

THE LIMITATIONS OF RICHARD COBDEN

IN a guide-book to Littlehampton of the year 1909 I rejoice to find the following announcement:

"Cobden Bros., 12 Norfolk Road, Beach, Littlehampton, Dairymen and Cowkeepers."

It is noteworthy that Richard Cobden, whose name is doomed to perpetual association with the blackest blackness of the industrial north, sprang from a long line of Sussex yeomen. In short, his origin was very like that of a far greater son of Sussex, whose true greatness emerges more and more as the limitations and errors of Cobden become more evident—William Cobbett. The very portrait prefixed to Morley's two-volume life of Cobden bewrays the man of English and country stock. Surely it was not the least of the disasters of the 19th century that turned such a man, of signally humane disposition, into a champion of the Frankenstein of factorydom. At Hertford in 1843 Cobden "obtained a sympathetic hearing by his announcement that he was the son of a Sussex farmer, that he kept his father's sheep, and had seen the misery of rent day" (i. 273), and it is good to know that the old traditions have not died out among his kindred.

There can be no doubt that his own time much exaggerated Cobden's greatness and abilities, remarkable as these were. From much of the insularity and narrowness, not to say vulgarity, so often associated with commercial success, Cobden was notably free. "It is an effort to me to speak in public, the applause of a meeting has no charm for me" (i. 208). He had, or acquired, the manners of a gentleman, interviewed sovereigns and statesmen in many countries, and, although self-taught, was by no means meanly read; he had a real command of the French language. And yet I do not think Lord Morley's unwearied hero-worship is apt to carry any but the most partisan readers with him. One is constantly aware of a marked disproportion between Lord Morley's graceful eulogy and its subject; the book does not leave a final impression of any heroic stature, but rather of great abilities and sincere zeal warped by an outlook that

was not truly penetrating or far-seeing. Whatever may be thought of the cause of Free Trade (as Cobden used that term) in the middle of the 19th century, it was no more the Open Sesame to human happiness, for which Cobden took it, than the Great Exhibition itself. It could not reach the roots of human weal or woe,

all that comes
From the unwatered soul of man
Gaping on God.

The wonder is rather that anyone should ever have fancied it could.

It is Lord Morley himself, the pagan, who puts his finger on the secret of Cobden's somewhat distressing limitations.

There is scanty evidence of anything like an intense spirituality in his nature; he was neither depressed nor elevated by the mysteries, the aspirations, the remorse, the hope that constitute religion. So far as we can have means of knowing, he was not of those who live much in the Unseen. But for moral goodness, in whatever association he came upon it, he had a reverence that came from his heart of hearts. While leaning strongly towards those scientific theories of motive and conduct, of which . . . George Combe was in those days the most active propagandist, he felt no contempt, provided only their practical endeavour was towards good, for those who clung narrowly to older explanations of the heart of man (Vol.I., ch. ix., p. 200).

George Combe had told him in 1830 that had he lived in the middle ages, he would have been a monk, "you have so much veneration!" In complacently recounting this Cobden betrays a great deal more of another quality, self-satisfaction, to wit. "I am by nature a religionist," he writes to Combe on August 1, 1846. "I have strong religious feeling,—a sympathy for men who act under that impulse; I reverence it as a great leverage which has moved mankind to powerful action. I acknowledge that it has been perverted to infinite mischief. I confess it has been the means of degrading men to brutish purposes, . . . but it has also done glorious deeds *for liberty and human exaltation, and it is destined to do still better things.*"¹ This gives us the measure of the man. Human welfare is the goal of his

¹ Italics mine.

aspirations, religious feelings or impulse a serviceable means thereto, and the glory of God seldom if ever enters into the circle of his ideas at all. It is hardly too much to say that for Cobden in practice, man is his own end. "It is fortunate for me," he continues, "that while possessing a strong logical faculty, which keeps me in the path of rationalism, I have the religious sympathy which enables me to co-operate with men of exclusively religious sentiment. I mean it is fortunate for my powers of usefulness in this my day and generation" (i. 200-201). Rationalist in the technical sense he was not, "it is unpleasant to my feelings to associate with those who . . . indulge in coarse sceptical allusions to our faith . . . and with these *esprits forts*, as the French call them, I have no sympathy. . . I am resolved to follow Bonaparte's advice—to adhere to the religion of my mother, who was an energetically pious woman" (i. 202).

"His whole scheme rested, if any scheme did so rest, upon the wide positive basis of a great social expediency," says his biographer (i. 97). "In material well-being he maintained, and rightly maintained, that you not only have the surest foundation for a solid fabric of morality and enlightenment among your people, but in the case of one of our vast and populous modern societies of free men, the only sure bulwark against ceaseless disorder and violent convulsion" (i. 99).

"I could insist upon the necessity of secular teaching and training without wounding the religious prejudices of any man excepting the grovelling bigots of the High Church party or the opposite extreme" (i. 202). Here speaks the insular ignorance that took "simple Bible teaching" (a false and evasive phrase) for the Christian religion. To read John, afterwards Viscount, Morley's work, written in 1881, is to be astounded at the shallow cocksureness of the agnostic world of the time. We who are reaping the whirlwind may wonder at the blind confidence of those who diligently sowed the wind in those boastful years. It is only the unthinking to-day who deny the spiritual world altogether—however perverted their notions of it may be. Morality is seen to be determined by other causes than health alone, and asceticism, however disregarded in practice, would not now be set down with such levity to mere ignorance or superstition. In the non-Catholic world St. Teresa is found far more interesting to-day than the demigods of the nineteenth century.

Curiously enough, in his first pamphlet, Cobden strikes a note very unusual with him to rebut the charge that he wished to convert England into one vast manufactory in the interests of his class.

"Far from nourishing any such *esprit de corps*, our predilections lean altogether in an opposite direction. We were born and bred up amid the pastoral charms of the south of England, and we confess to so much attachment for the pursuits of our forefathers, that, had we the casting of the parts of all the actors of this world's stage, we do not think we should suffer a cotton-mill or a manufactory to have a place in it. . . . But the factory system, which sprang from the discoveries in machinery, has been adopted by all the civilized nations in the world, and it is in vain for us to think of discountenancing its application to the necessities of this country; it only remains for us to mitigate, as far as possible, the evils that are perhaps not inseparably connected with this novel social element (i. 97).

It was an exaggeration to speak of the factory system as universally adopted by 1835-6. In many parts of Europe it did not take root until after the Great War of 1914. Cobden's obsession against the "clodpole aristocracy" and "feudalism" was little short of a mania. He had hopes that the manufacturers and merchants of England would become as the Medici, the Fuggers, the De Witts of other lands before them. Instead of this, he found them aspiring to copy the "feudalism" he hated so indiscriminately. "So far," wrote Morley in 1881, "plutocracy shows a very slight gain upon aristocracy, of which it remains, as Cobden so constantly deplored, an imitation, and a very bad imitation" (ii. 482). In one of his letters, Cobden admits that it is hard for the public orator to steer clear of flattery or abuse. Crowds must be amused to keep their attention. More readable than the pamphlets and speeches, dusty with forgotten political strife, are the letters and notes recounting his many travels, notably those of 1847, when he visited Italy and had an audience with Pope Pius IX., in the second year of his reign, and a little over a year before the treachery of the Revolutionaries succeeded.

Pius IX. received me with a hearty and unaffected expression of pleasure at meeting one who had been con-

cerned in a great and good work in England; commended my perseverance and the means by which the principle of Free Trade had been made to triumph; and he remarked that England was the only country where such triumphs were achieved by years of legal and moral exertion. He professed himself to be favourable to Free Trade, and said all he could do should be done to forward it, but modestly added that he could do but little. I pointed to Tuscany, his next neighbour, as a good example to follow, and said that England had not been ashamed to take a lesson from that country; and I added that Tuscany was an inconvenient neighbour, owing to the smuggling which could be carried on until his tariff was put upon the same moderate scale. He spoke of the wide frontier of his territories as being favourable to the contraband trade, and alluded to the desirableness of a custom-house union in Italy. In parting I called his attention to the practice in Spain of having bull-fights in honour of the saints and virgins on the fête days, and gave him an extract from a Madrid paper, giving an account of a bull-fight in honour of its patroness the Virgin. After a little conversation upon the cruelty and demoralization of these spectacles, he thanked me for having drawn his attention to it, and promised to give instructions upon the subject to an envoy whom he was about to send to Spain. He concluded by another complimentary phrase or two, and we left. I was impressed with the notion that he is sincere, kind-hearted, and good, and that he is possessed of strong common sense and sound understanding. He did not strike me [Cobden adds complacently] as a man of commanding genius (I. xviii. 434).

One may be tempted to retort Cobden's judgment upon himself. It was unfortunately a custom with "Liberal Catholics" to belittle Pius IX., whose real greatness and foresight have been brought into relief by the world's recent history. Those who are faced by the Bolshevik peril read the famous *Syllabus* of 1864, with other eyes than the hasty critics in the heyday of "Progress." The commanding genius of Pius IX. has surely been vindicated. In any case a man so dimly aware of the supernatural, so ignorant of Christian doctrine, tradition and history as

Richard Cobden was ill-equipped to take the measure of Hildebrand's successor.

Cobden's self-complacency, like that of his biographer, is seldom disturbed. Indeed Lord Morley has the assurance to claim that the principles of the "Constitution of Man," by George Combe the phrenologist, "have now in some shape or other become the accepted commonplaces of all rational persons," although, "a startling revelation when it was first published (1828)" (i. 93). Rational persons are rare, then, among the serious-minded to-day.

Cobden's letter to W. C. Hunt on the Hours of Labour is interesting. Legal regulations he looked upon as a harking back to feudal tyranny; the workmen must look to themselves, not to Parliament; they should seek to rise, by emigration to America if need be, but not ask for the patronage of the State. Cobden refused to believe that working mothers would sacrifice their offspring—a futile answer indeed. At the same time he confesses, "in my opinion, and I hope to see the day when such a feeling is universal, *no child ought to be at work in a cotton-mill at all so early as the age of thirteen years*; and after that the hours should be moderate, and the labour light, until such time as the human frame is rendered by nature capable of enduring the fatigues of adult labour"¹ (i. 464-465).

Lord Morley admits that "Material progress has been out of all proportion to moral progress. And nobody had better reason to know this than Cobden. The perpetual chagrin of his life was the obstinate refusal of those on whom he had helped to shower wealth and plenty, to hear what he had to say on the social ideas to which their wealth should lead" (ii. 481). Late in his life he wrote to a friend a few words which probably contain more true wisdom than all his speeches and pamphlets.

"Nations have not yet learned to bear prosperity, liberty, and peace. They will learn it in a higher state of civilization. We think that we are the models for posterity, when we are little better than learning to help it to avoid the rocks and quicksands" (ii. 481).

This might well seem tantamount to a confession that his lifework had been a disastrous mistake. But how, on his principles, was that higher civilization to be brought about? So far from giving us a higher civilization, the success of

¹ Italics in the original.

his evangel has destroyed most of what we had, the remnants of Christendom that survived the 15th century in England, and has brought forth a new and portentous ignorance and slavery, a state of things to "dizzy and appal" the most heedless, an impudent alien Shylock-racy, ruling a nation boasting of freedom and empire, enslaved to machinery, uprooted from the soil and its traditions, and swayed hither and thither by the linotyped falsehoods cynically called "public opinion," a society whose necessary rural foundation has been deliberately destroyed "to gorge a few with trade's precarious prize."

It is hard to have patience with the blind prophets and their eulogists, the whole Manchester School, when we reflect upon the known condition of real human beings in real factories at that very time. Here is one example out of hundreds that might be given. In 1851, John Hungerford Pollen, an illustrious convert, published a "Narrative" of five years at St. Saviour's, Leeds, in his Anglican days, which his wife thus summarizes in her life of him.

Familiarity with corruption began here in early youth.

A fiendish ingenuity, sometimes the aid of medical means, were employed in opening to children of tender years the path of evil; and those who had fallen were successfully employed to decoy, by the hopes of high wages, former companions, still ignorant, from their country homes. Vice of the most enormous kind flourished wherever the young were herded together; both at times when the sexes were separated, and when they were not. Even the outward veil which convention substitutes in open day for that of darkness, was too often withdrawn; and only by treating such matters as a legal nuisance, could a zealous clergyman obtain some approach to the exterior decency which is better than none. Such was Leeds of the early thirties" (Anne Pollen, "John H. Pollen," 1912, xiii. 97).

Such were the realities of industrialism. The "Feudalism" Cobden fought had indeed much to answer for, as the conservative Crabbe among others reminds us; but could any indictment so black as this be brought against it? And now, ninety years and more since Cobden's first pamphlet, has industrialism been justified of her children? From the *Universe* of April 11th, 1919, I take the following:

Archbishop McIntyre, speaking at the annual meeting of the Leeds Diocesan Rescue and Protection Society, held at St. Michael's College, Leeds, said it seemed almost hopeless to find a remedy for the evils which the Society sought to suppress. In great industrial centres, the root of the evil lay in our factory system, said his Grace. There was no proper control, and the language uttered practically from morning till night, deadened, corrupted and made careless the soul.

Surely the false prophets have experimented all too long upon the soul of a nation once Christian. The mirage of gold has lured us into the barren desert, and there, we are told, we must remain, since it is too late to return. This is said consciously or more often unconsciously, in the interests of Shylock, but the true optimist does not believe it. The greatest difficulty that prevents England from returning to the land is that which hinders its return to the Church of God, the pride that will not admit the manifest defeat of its most cherished vaunt, that catches at every excuse to avoid the humiliation of openly retracing its steps. Yet only by retracing its steps will it find deliverance.

Antiquam exquirite matrem.

H. E. G. ROPE.

THE EYE OF FAITH

"**B**UT of course one needs colour in life," Angela said. She was talking to herself, an incurable habit of hers. "I suppose one could lead a good, even admirable life in a humdrum way, but it is so dull. Look at Miss Martha Brown, now. She spends her time almost entirely with her old mother—a trying old lady—and in doing good works. She is regular at church, really a splendid person. But such a drab existence, and doing so little real good in the world. Now, if she had married, or become a nun, her energies would have found some useful outlet. I mean to do something with my life. Whatever it is, it shan't be dull. One does need action, movement, colour."

"Quite," said a voice close by. Angela had never heard it before, and yet it was familiar.

She looked round. She was not exactly surprised. It seemed natural, somehow. Sitting in a chair by the window she saw her guardian angel.

"Oh," she said, for want of something to say. "I thought I was alone."

"You are never alone," said the angel. "I think you were saying something about the need for colour in life," he added conversationally.

Angela was not long down from Oxford. She had taken a very fair degree and she felt, not unnaturally, that the world was before her. There were so many things to do, so much to learn, so very much to speculate about. The question was, where and how to begin. She must avoid all the failures into which others seemed to have fallen. At the moment, her parents' old friends were under review. One or two appeared to have made a success of life, a few others were not out-and-out failures, but need any human being live such a dreary, purposeless existence as Miss Martha Brown, forty-five if a day, who was not without intelligence (she knew a lot about books and was awfully clever at embroidery). Surely she might have *done* something, written or lectured or taken a prominent part in social work, or *something*.

"You were saying?" prompted the angel.

"Yes, about the need for colour in life," said Angela eagerly.

"Do you honestly think that anyone need live the sort of life that Miss Brown lives?"

"I'm sure that very few could," answered the angel.

"Couldn't bear it, you mean?" asked Angela.

"Yes, couldn't bear it." He nodded gravely.

"But how silly she is to bear it," said Angela hotly. "No woman need lead a dull, useless existence, need she?"

"Most certainly not," agreed the angel.

"Well, then—you've admitted my point...."

"But do you know how Miss Brown does live?"

"Yes, I do. I stayed with them last summer when Marjorie had the measles, and I noticed her daily round."

"Very educative."

"Yes, as a warning. I'll tell you just what she does."

"Please do. I am most interested."

"Well, she's up early, I know, though she can't get to Mass more than twice a week on week-days, when it's at half past seven, because her mother *will* have her breakfast at a quarter past eight and Miss Brown has to take it up to her—she won't let the maid—and arrange her pillows and things. She eats her own breakfast quickly because she has to help her mother to dress—a most tiresome job, I'm sure, from what I've seen of the old lady when she is dressed. She ought to let a servant do it. Then there's the housekeeping, and you'd think Miss Brown was a child, not a middle-aged woman, the way she asks her mother every little thing. Why, she hasn't power of life and death over one duster. If a woman must live at home she ought to take things into her own hands and *manage*. It is really disgraceful to be so dependent. She should strike out a line for herself, show that she won't put up with it. Why, she can't stay out to tea, even, without asking her mother's permission. Too ridiculous. And as for having visitors, they're her mother's cronies, not her friends. But she *has* friends, I know. I've seen some charming photographs in her room, and every now and again she mentions very interesting people. And she doesn't even look after her health, never takes proper, regular exercise, but just seems to run errands or go off to church when she can get away. And that week-night class she has for girls, it tires her awfully getting up the lesson, you can see, and nothing to show for it."

"Nothing at all?"

"No. The girls go off to other places and don't seem to care much about her one way or the other."

"It sounds as if it might be a very full life," said the angel thoughtfully.

"It's full of emptiness, then," said Angela crossly. "Nothing happens, I tell you. There's nothing to show for what she

does, week by week. Just that old lady dressed day by day, and played cards with and read to ; other old ladies poured out tea for. No, I forgot, she isn't allowed to touch the tea-pot. It's a symbol of authority, you know."

"Indeed," said the angel, interestedly.

"Yes, in Victorian circles. And this is a Victorian oasis. No, oasis isn't the right word."

"It sounds to me to be very exact."

"Not a bit of it. You don't know Victorianism gone stale. Well, as I say, nothing happens. She isn't leaving any mark on the world, and *everybody* ought to. There'll simply be no record of her when she dies, not even a paragraph in the parish magazine, most likely. She doesn't do anything worth taking account of."

"You surprise me," said the angel.

"It may well surprise you. Though I had an idea that you guardian angels talked over your cases, or—or clients, would you say?"

"Names do not matter. Yes, we do take an interest in each other's charges."

"But hadn't you heard of Miss Brown?"

"I knew something about her but I had not heard the details you are giving me. Most interesting."

"What do you think of her, then? I can't live that kind of life, you know."

"I should not expect it of you."

"Thank goodness. And the saints and people you read about didn't live such lives either. Things happened to them. It must be your own fault if nothing happens to you, I think. There's so much to do in the world, why not do it?"

"Why not, indeed. Now about yourself, Angela. You have a quiet hour or two on your hands for once. Your parents and Marjorie won't be back just yet and we shan't be disturbed up here in your room. Though you wouldn't go with them because you hate matinées, how would you care to see a few moving pictures up here, just by ourselves?"

"I'd love it. But how....?"

"Keep quiet. Sit still. The dusk has fallen, you see. I will take down this picture. There, keep your eyes on that blank bit of wall. You like coloured romance. You shall see one."

"O-o-o-o-oh!"

A picture in bright colours appeared on the wall. A knight lay asleep on a couch, and hovering over him, making passes

and apparently muttering incantations, was a horrible demon. The knight opened his eyes, whereupon the demon drew back and then passed a hand lightly over his face so that he closed them again. Then an angel with a silver trumpet appeared and blew a *reveille*, and the knight started to his feet and hastily began to dress himself in the armour which lay beside his bed—a corselet and breast-plate, shoes, helmet, sword and shield. The shield he had to search for, it had slipped behind his couch, pulled thither by demon fingers.

"Christophilus is now ready for audience with His Majesty," explained Angela's angel.

The next scene was a blaze of light, and the figures at first not easily distinguishable. Then Angela made out the knight kneeling upon a pavement of sapphire before a great white throne, on which sat one whose face she could not see, for he was bending over the kneeling knight, speaking with him face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. Beside the King sat a most gracious and beautiful Queen, who looked tenderly on Christophilus, and rank on rank of glittering courtiers were grouped around the throne, and one and all cast friendly glances on the knight.

The scene changed.

"Christophilus begins his day's adventure," said the angel.

The knight, drawn sword in hand, shield held carefully over breast, feet planted with an eye to every step, was advancing over a grim, rocky roadway, with frowning precipices on either hand, and huge boulders round which he crept with caution. It was evident that he expected an ambush, and it was well that he was on his guard. Suddenly there sprang out at him a peculiarly loathsome monster, half human, half animal, with an evil face and slimy body. The Thing's claw-like hands made a grab at the knight's throat, but the buckle of his helmet prevented it getting a grip, and the next instant Christophilus' sword passed straight through its body. It drew off, but Angela saw with horror, it was not killed or even mortally wounded, merely discomfited.

The knight went on his way, alert, aware of lurking danger, to Angela's relief, for the demon shadowed his footsteps, now leering from behind a rock, now rolling a stone to trip him, now beckoning, it would seem, to his minions.

Suddenly, a lion blocked the path, a fierce-looking brute, and behind him two or three whelps, licking their jaws and evidently longing for a chance to attack. For a moment the knight halted and flinched, and in that instant the lions sprang.

They downed him. It seemed that it was all up with him. But the jaws of the first closed on his helmet and made no dint, the claws of the second slid harmlessly from his breastplate, a third got a kick which sent him yelping, and the fourth a sword-thrust which put him out of action. Then Christophilus struggled to his feet and raised his shield aloft and uttered a shout which put the beasts to flight.

The knight went on his way, limping a little, and there came a sound of laughter and a clatter of hooves as a gay cavalcade swept by, hawk on wrist, driving him to the rocks and deep dust by the roadside, and while he looked after them wistfully, a fox slid out of the rocks and bit his heel. He started forward and limped along slower, and then there came the sound of hooves again and down the path, like a flash of lightning, swept a unicorn at full gallop, head lowered, catching him full tilt with its horn and knocking him over before he knew where he was. Before he had time to rise a great brown bear with her cubs came lumbering along and they flung themselves upon him, so that he could scarce struggle to his feet from beneath their heavy bodies. But he laid about him with his sword and shield and at length got free. Bruised, lame, exhausted, he limped forward, and just then the loathsome, human-headed monster returned, snarling, to the attack. Angela held her breath, but in the very nick of time a tall, armed angel—he of the silver trumpet—stood at Christophilus' side and put the Thing to flight.

The scene changed.

"Christophilus has a few moments' respite with his Captain," explained the angel.

On a green lawn, starred with spring flowers, stood a plain army tent, and one who was surely a king, though clad as for a hard campaign, waited at the door. Royal soldiers stood around, "in order serviceable," and as Christophilus limped up, battered and dusty, those bright-harnessed ones saluted. The King stepped forward to meet him, took him by the hand, kissed him on the brow and led him within the tent.

The scene changed. Christophilus pursued his way. An evil-looking pig ran grunting from his path, hastened by a stroke with the flat of his sword. Then he paused to rest where a wide and lovely vista showed between the rocks, a gentle landscape, with blossoming orchards and cool streams and rich farmsteads, a sharp contrast to his hard and dusty way. He looked and longed, and as he lingered a serpent in the grass managed to strike at his calf, so that he limped badly as he continued his journey.

And now, tired as he evidently was, he came upon a group of youthful knights exercising themselves somewhat listlessly in the use of arms. Christophilus spent much time teaching them the art of fighting. Presently the youths went off, better^r trained yet gay and thoughtless still, and Christophilus limped onward. But now Angela saw a circle of bright stars crowning his head.

The scene changed. It was evening. A couch was spread in the shade of tall trees, supper was laid upon a wayside rock. The knight limped up, footsore and weary, and angels came and ministered to him.

The picture faded from the wall.

"Well," said Angela's angel. "What did you think of that? Plenty of colour and movement, wasn't there?"

"Oh, *yes*. But then those mediæval romances always *are* full of life. That's my point."

"But this is not mediæval. It is twentieth century. As a matter of fact, it happened yesterday."

"What *do* you mean?"

"It's a day in the life of Miss Martha Brown. The ordinary every-day adventures of her soul, as seen from the Court of Heaven. She is Christophilus—every Christian is. And as you are well up in mediæval literature you of course recognized the Lion of Pride, the Fox of Covetousness, the Unicorn of Wrath, the Bear of Sloth, the Swine of Greediness—who can't get near Miss Brown, you notice—and the Serpent of Envy. They are all described in the Ancren Riwle, as you know. Then the human-headed monster is self-love, the torment of all the saints. For the armour, see the sixth chapter of Ephesians, verses eleven to thirteen, quite familiar to you, of course. You noticed the girls' class, didn't you? And you saw it was not her day for early Mass, she could only get her morning meditation and a few minutes before the Tabernacle. The old mother was particularly trying yesterday, and humiliated her be'ore the servants, who were cheeky soon afterwards. She felt a bit covetous when two rich spinsters came to call in their new car, and rather envious when a letter came from her married sister describing her Italian tour, and she lost her temper for a moment with the housemaid, who had neglected to clean the silver for three weeks running. And once, for a moment, it seemed useless to go on trying. Things like that happen every day to Christian pilgrims. It is a life-long adventure. Isn't that the hall-door opening? Good-bye. Do try to get some colour into your life."

J. F. SMITH.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS.

ON August 24th of last year the Holy Father declared St. John of the Cross a Doctor of Holy Church, an event of first-rate importance that has hitherto been almost ignored by the Catholic Press. The elevation of the saint to the Doctorate is especially welcome in these days of luxury and self-indulgence, for his message of renunciation and self-conquest is more needed at the present day than that of any other saint, and the authoritative approval of his works by the Church is therefore of great moment. Unlike the majority of his fellow-Doctors, St. John was not reputed a scholar in life, nor do his works betray to us any signs of deep learning or even of wide reading; but they have that in them that surpasses mere learning—the spirit of God, and St. John possessed more than a mere knowledge of books; he had the Gift of Understanding, and a marvellous wisdom in what pertained to the spiritual life in general and the most obscure by-paths of Mysticism in particular.

Yet, despite his wonderful insight, it remains true that there are few to-day who are not frightened by the teaching of this saint. The attitude of the average reader of his works is apt to be that of Huysmans' hero, Durtal, in *En Route*, who says:—

As for St. John of the Cross, though he sounds the lowest strata of the soul, and reaches where human auger has never penetrated, he wearies me all the same in my admiration, for his work is full of nightmares that repel me . . . "The sufferings of that darkness (of the soul) surpass what is possible," he cries on every page. Here I lose foothold . . . Such a martyrdom as he proclaims as superior to all others, is beyond me, for it is outside our human interests, beyond our affections; he moves in an inaccessible sphere, in an unknown world very far off.

In a word, the average reader is repelled. But then, of course, St. John did not write for the average reader. Only the soul that has already advanced some distance on the road of self-renunciation, the only road towards God, can hope to understand, or to be inspired by him, and for such an one St. John does not mince matters. Says the Abbé Gevresin in the same work:—

He wills that he who desires to unite himself to God should place himself under an exhausted receiver, and make a vacuum within, so that, if he choose, the Pilgrim should descend therein, and purify himself, tearing out the remains of sins, extirpating the last relics of vice . . . St. John makes you shudder when

he cries out that this night of the soul is bitter and terrible, and that the being who suffers it is plunged alive into Hell. But when the old man is purged out, when he is scraped at every seam, light springs out, and God appears. Then the soul casts itself like a child into His arms, and the incomprehensible fusion takes place.

These words admirably illustrate our theme. It is precisely because the saint is so uncompromising, so unflinching in his insistence on the necessity of suffering, that we should particularly welcome the honour paid to him by the Holy Father, for it is a challenge thrown down at the feet of a self-indulgent world. We are irresistibly reminded of this saint by that most noble and fearless Jesuit, the late Father William Doyle, whose published *Life* has so astonished our easy going days, and who was a man after St. John's own heart. He has at least shown that there are still men who are determined to conquer themselves that they may attain to a close union with God, and he must be rejoicing to-day in the newly-won dignity of the great Carmelite.

It is ever of interest to investigate the life of a saint who has been trained in the school of a saint, and this process is possible in the lives of many of God's elect. Thus the mind delights to reflect on the picture of St. Augustine drinking in the words of St. Ambrose, of St. Thomas of Aquin at the feet of the Blessed Albertus Magnus, and of St. Jane Chantal trained up by St. Francis de Sales. But in what a different manner were all these trained, and in what a different school they sat to that in which St. John of the Cross was educated to the heights of sanctity by St. Teresa! The hard, rocky road of penance, of mortifications external and internal, was his, but he had as guide one of the most remarkable women in the whole history of the Church. St. Teresa has told the story of that training herself in her *Book of the Foundations*, and her admiration for her fervent novice stands out boldly. "Fr. John was so holy," she wrote, "that I had much more to learn from him than he had from me." And elsewhere, describing the saint, she writes:—"He is small in appearance, but, in my opinion, very great in the sight of God. He is a very wise man in spite of his youth, and it is impossible to doubt that the grace of God is with him. For though we have been tried in many ways in all these affairs, and I myself have been on more than one occasion annoyed with him, yet we have never discovered the smallest fault in him;" and she significantly adds: "He is full of courage," as truly he had need to be.

The main facts of St. John's life are well known, and there is no need here to dwell on the hardships of his youth, his training by St. Teresa, his strenuous labours on behalf of the Reform she had inaugurated, and the persecutions he in consequence suffered.¹ Let

¹ See for a profound study of his strange career, "St. John of the Cross," by C. C. Martindale—*The Month*, Dec., 1917; Jan., 1918.

us rather speak of him in that aspect which has won for him a universal renown, that of guide in the regions of Mystical Theology. It is quite clear that St. John was by no means a scholar, as has already been pointed out, and it would even seem that he was unacquainted with the writings of the Fathers, for nowhere in his works is there to be found any trace of their influence. On the other hand he was perfectly familiar with St. Thomas, and in particular he relies on the Angelic Doctor's view of the operations of the senses and of the faculties of the soul. With such a firm foundation on which to work he could safely erect the highest possible tower of Mystical Theology, knowing that he was building on rock. His work is chiefly of value, as Father Zimmermann has pointed out, as a guide and instructor to contemplative souls, and to all who are really in earnest in their search for union with God. Fearlessly, he goes right to the root of the matter, and, taking as his text the words of our Lord :—" If any man come after Me, let him deny himself," he declares the paramount necessity of such a one stripping himself ruthlessly of *everything* that does not help him onwards in his pursuit of sanctity. The soul must be thoroughly purified and emptied that Christ may enter into full and undisputed possession of it. This renunciation applies with special force to the imagination and the understanding.

Nothing that the imagination may conceive or the understanding comprehend, in this life, is or can be a proximate means of union with God . . . All that the understanding may comprehend ; all that the will may be satisfied with ; and all that the imagination may conceive, is most unlike unto God, and most disproportionate to Him . . . It is evident, then, from this that the understanding cannot be immediately directed in the way of God by any knowledge such as this, and that, if it is to draw near unto God, it must do so by not understanding rather than by seeking to understand ; yea, rather, it must be by making itself blind, covering itself with darkness, and not by opening its eyes, that it can attain to the divine enlightening.

These words have surely a message for many of our modern " intellectuals " who cannot see for the simple reason that they have their eyes too wide open.

For St. John, man has but one supreme goal to which he must ever strive ; the attainment of sanctity, *i.e.*, the union of his soul with God ; and, of course, the truth of this doctrine is self-evident if men would only reflect on the meaning of creaturehood. Accordingly everything else, no matter how admirable or desirable it may be in itself, must, if it does not tend towards this end, be ruthlessly thrown aside, just as the runner casts away all that may impede him in the race. In all this, of course, he taught nothing new, but he taught it with a directness, with a force, and with a spiritual

insight never surpassed, and above all he showed forth in his own life the fruits of his doctrine ; he was in himself the best possible proof of the truth of his teaching.

It is absolutely necessary, then, that the soul, if it is to make progress, be purified, and this purgation, St. John teaches, must be two-fold, Active and Passive. Of the former he treats in the "Ascent of Mount Carmel," and of the latter in the "Dark Night of the Soul." The active purgation consists in voluntary and systematic self-denial, in renouncing all that could give pleasure. The senses must be mortified and disciplined, and when this has been accomplished (or sometimes while it is yet going on) the passive purgation takes place. This passive purgation is truly the dark night of the soul, which the saint portrays in such terrible terms, and which he had himself fully experienced. In it the soul lies passive under the hand of God, all relief, all consolation is removed far from it, and, destitute of all light and of all help from the senses, it clings to Him by the force of faith alone. Sensible devotion has fled, and the soul rests entirely on God, though it feels deserted even by Him. And out of this helplessness comes an overpowering sense of dependence on God, which it is the object of this purgation to produce. In a word, by it Detachment, that most necessary virtue, is acquired.

Having been thus tried by fire, the soul becomes gradually prepared to receive the fruits of its sufferings, viz., that union with the will of God which is the height of beatitude obtainable in this life. Of this St. John has treated in his two later works :—"The Spiritual Canticle of the Soul," and the "Living Flame of Love," works in which he rises to heights incomprehensible to those who have not followed in his steps, and in which human language well-nigh fails to serve him when he strives to express his meaning. His is the fate of all the mystic writers. When they are most anxious to describe what they feel, they find the task impossible. Words fail when set the impossible task of describing the joys of the Unitive Way. Not even Ruysbroeck or Denis the Carthusian were able to find words in which to describe the delights of that state, but St. John, like Bl. Angela of Foligno, does succeed in conveying, more by suggestion than by what he actually says, something of what is therein experienced. More practical than St. Catherine of Genoa, he may not inaptly be compared with our own English Benedictine, Augustine Baker, the author of *Sancta Sophia*, for both have an admirable restraint which but serves to add to the force of their words, and to make more impressive what might otherwise degenerate into effusive incoherence.

None knew better than he that the utter and complete denial of all gratification to the senses is not absolutely essential for advance in holiness, but he also realized that the greatness of the reward is always commensurate with the amount of sacrifice made, and that

therefore he who aspires to taste the complete joys of union with God (so far as they are possible to attain to in this life) must make no reservations, but must deny himself everything. It is because, as A Kempis pointed out, so few have the generosity and the courage to make this complete sacrifice that so few attain to the heights of the saints. The state of those, however, who do reach this stage St. John describes in "The Living Flame of Love," which may be said to correspond with the Seventh Mansion of St. Teresa's *Interior Castle*, a state in which the soul participates not only in the joys, but also in the Passion of Christ, and this participation is in itself the greatest of joys though by it the soul is plunged into sorrow and suffering. Such are the paradoxes of the Cross, that which is "foolishness to the Gentiles" and a stumbling-block to more than the Jews.

We have glanced then, in this brief sketch, at a few of the outstanding characteristics of St. John and of the message that he declared to the world. It was not that the subjugation of the body is an end in itself but that it is a means to subdual of spirit. Hence we find him perfect in the highest of moral virtues, obedience. It is to be seen in his appreciation of the necessity of a director in the spiritual life, an appreciation greatly derived from St. Teresa, in whose life this feature may be said to stand out above all others. Many of his sayings illustrate the great importance he ascribed to spiritual direction. Thus :—"Our Lord did not say in His gospel, where one is by himself there am I, but where there are at the least two : this is to show that no one should believe of himself, or confirm himself in, the things which he thinks are those of God, without the counsel and direction of the Church and her ministers." And again, "it is the will of God that the government of one man should be in the hands of another, and that we should not give perfect credit to those matters which He communicates supernaturally Himself, until they shall have passed through the human channel of another man's mouth." And one last, and more characteristic quotation :—"The chief solicitude of spiritual directors should be to mortify every desire of their penitents : to make them deny themselves in all they desire, so as to deliver them from so great misery."

The sorry tale of the long persecutions heroically endured by the saint at the hands of his Carmelite brethren does not call for re-telling. At all stages of the world's history is to be observed the same phenomenon of holy men disagreeing, and of violent quarrels ensuing between them, owing, perhaps, to their not sufficiently recognizing that true zeal is but "flamma charitatis." Suffice it to say that, partly as a result of the harsh treatment he had received, St. John died at the early age of 49, on December 14th, 1491, and was beatified on the 25th January, 1675. His canonization followed on December 27th, 1726, and now, two hundred years later, Pius XI. has added the

crown to these honours by declaring him Doctor of Holy Church, the 26th saint to attain to that dignity.

DOM BASIL WHELAN, O.S.B., M.A.

WALTER PATER AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THOUGH the works of Walter Pater do not enjoy that popularity which was theirs some years ago, it cannot be denied that they take their place with graceful ease among the classics of our language, and that like other classics have been expounded by editors and commentators for those who have a difficulty in appreciating the real secret of their style. Indeed most men, in explaining how sensitive Pater's pen was in depicting the subtler beauties of nature and of art, have failed to notice—and it simply leaps to the mind of an observant Catholic!—that Pater was not entirely and comfortably satisfied with evanescent beauty, and that his life seems to be one of restlessness, of seeking to find the key to the mystery of the beautiful world in which he moved, and that his quest brought him to the very heart and centre of the Catholic Church.

The failure of Pater's critics to notice this phase of his life has led to the varied opinions they hold about his religion. Gosse says of him, "With the accession of humanistic ideas he gradually lost all belief in the Christian religion." A. H. Thompson on the contrary says: "His intellectual attitude underwent a gradual change until, embracing devoutly the principles of Anglicanism, his Epicureanism became strongly modified by his Christianity." Chamber's Cyclopædia says that he "gave up thoughts of taking Anglican Orders and through Unitarianism passed to a non-Christian scheme of philosophical eclecticism." A. C. Benson, his chief biographer, says that "there is no sort of evidence that he had any thought of Anglican Orders, or that he was tending towards Roman Catholicism," and though deeply Calvinistic, he was naturally a religious man. Then again J. W. Cousin says: "His attitude to Christianity, though deeply sceptical was not unsympathetic." Perhaps the best known are the words which Mallock in his "New Republic" puts into the mouth of Pater speaking of his supposed "Aim in Life": "I look upon life as a chamber, which we decorate as we would decorate the chamber of the woman or youth that we love, tinting the walls of it with symphonies of subdued colour, and filling it with works of fair form, and with flowers, and with strange scents, and with instruments of music. And this can be done now as well—better rather—than at any former time: since we know that so many of the old aims were false, and so cease to be distracted by them. We have learned the weariness of creeds and know that for us the grave has no secrets. We have learned that the aim of life is life; and what does successful life consist in? Simply . . . in

the consciousness of exquisite living—in the making our own each highest thrill of joy that the moment offers us”

Other critics too have variously commented on his religious tenets, but let these suffice to show that students of Pater differ widely in trying to discern his religious tendencies. It is not meant that anyone could categorically point to the actual state of Pater's soul, but that to a Catholic who has studied conversions to the Church there seems to be ample evidence from his writings that Pater saw far into the Catholic Church, far enough to wish to embrace her teaching. That he was an aesthete is true enough, yet there are many roads to Rome and many doors to the Church of Rome, so that one can be led to the feet of Christ through the Eternal Beauty that shines through her Liturgy and her art, even as another is impelled by her theology, or another drawn by the example of her children.

It will be remembered that Richard Pater, Walter's father, was brought up a Catholic as were also his forefathers; but he abandoned his faith to marry a Protestant and so it was that his two sons were the first of the line to be born beyond the pale of the Church. Perhaps it is just retribution that the faith which the father had thrown aside, should haunt the mind of the son in vain.

In his early manhood, Walter Pater came under the spell of Keble's personality, but the latter's influence not being strong enough to make him desire Orders, we find him, later, in his Oxford life, approximating to those ideals of the Pre-Christian philosophical religions. However, it is patent from his writings that he eventually discerned the cause of their downfall, for he points out that mental and physical asceticism can do but little in the obtaining of their ideal state of "Peace," and that one needs in addition the purgation of self which can be given by Christian humility only. With their downfall came the birth of Christianity, which, with its free, irresistible, and all-embracing activity, so resembled the spirit of Greece, and yet, on the other hand, its eternal ideals and supernatural spirit left Greece to its earth-clogged lusts and pride, to ascend to that ethereal purity and divine illumination of the Sons of God. Thus Pater says in his "Marius" with a deal of feeling:—"The mere sense of belonging to a system . . . has, in itself, the expanding power of a great experience; as some have felt who have been admitted from the narrower sects into the communion of the Roman Church." He says again, somewhere, "the richness, the expressiveness, the thousandfold influence of the Catholic religion."

Yet withal, Pater's appreciation and knowledge of the Church grew slowly for, being first interested only in the genius of her poets, her artists, and her philosophers, and sometimes in his earlier years even making light of their religion, he gradually awakened to the fact that in beautifying the cathedrals of the Catholic Church and in honouring the saints and mysteries of the Catholic Church, and in elaborating the theology of the Catholic Church, their genius most

fittingly exhausted itself. Then too his studies of the decline of Grecian and Roman religions naturally brought him to study the spread of Christianity and the early Church, finally blossoming forth into his most famous work:—"Marius the Epicurean." It is a well-known fact that all of Pater's works are, unconsciously or no, autobiographical, and it is especially true of this last, for Marius himself, a young Roman of noble ideals and of a naturally religious temperament discovered the Church and loved her, and yet died without actually entering her fold. And just as Marius used to creep away from the cold, stereotyped, pagan-worship of ancient Rome, to assist at the new-born Sacrifice of the early Christians, with its sacred Liturgy, buoyant, mystic, unthinkably beautiful, so too did Pater often creep within the sheltering walls which enclosed the same Act of Worship of to-day. Though he often assisted at Mass in many churches, and indeed was a frequent visitor at the Carmelite church in Kensington, his interest seems to have been quickened through the medium of his æstheticism. He says: "The æsthetic charm of the Catholic Church, her evocative power over all that is eloquent in the better soul of man, her outward comeliness, her dignifying convictions about human nature—all this, as abundantly realized centuries later by Dante and Giotto, by the great church-builders, by the great ritualists like Gregory, and the masters of sacred music in the middle age—we may see in dim anticipation in the charmed space towards the end of the second century."

Then again there is something almost of inspiration in the following:—

The Mass, indeed, would seem to have been said continuously from the time of the Apostles. Its details, as one by one they became visible in later history, have already the character of what is ancient and venerable. 'We are very old, and ye are young!' they seem to protest, to those who fail to understand them. Ritual, indeed, like other elements of religion must grow and cannot be made—grow by the same law of development which has prevailed in all the rest of the religious world. In this particular phase of the religious life, however, that development seems to have been an unusually rapid one, in the subterranean age which preceded Constantine; doubtless, there also, more especially in such a time of partial reconciliation as that minor 'Peace,' and in the very first days of the final triumph of the Church, the Mass emerges to general view already substantially complete. Thus did the liturgy of the Church grow up full of consolations for the human soul, and destined surely, one day, to take exclusive possession of the religious consciousness. 'Wisdom' was dealing, as with the dust of creeds and philosophies, so also with the dust of outward religious usage; like the very spirit of life itself, organising souls and bodies out

of lime and clay of earth ; adopting, in a generous eclecticism within the Church's liberty and as by some providential power in her, as in other matters so in ritual, one thing here another there, from various sources—Gnostic, Jewish, Pagan—to adorn and beautify the greatest act of worship the world has seen."

This stirring passage is eloquent proof that Pater had indeed gone far in his studies. Why! even in the days when he was worst smitten by his non-Christian eclecticism he had gone far enough to say with some surprise: "Michelangelo is so ignorant of the spiritual world, of the new body and its laws, that he surely does not know whether the consecrated Host may not be the body of Christ." And in his essay on Pascal, after extolling his subject to the skies, he adds regretfully: "He seems to have little sense of the beauty of holiness."

I have said that there is an element of seeking in Pater's life, a gravitation towards the Catholic Church as the only possible solution for his restlessness. Being attracted by her outward comeliness, by the Divine Wonder shining through her earthly apparel, he loved only the effects of her beauty as portrayed in the nobility of the Catholic spirit, in the æsthetic charm of her Liturgy, in the products of her genius, and he failed to love the cause of her beauty and the source of her very existence, Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. So like Marius, he lived among the shadows of his evanescent longings, attracted by the Light of the World, yet fearing to surrender himself to its demands, a would-be Catholic, a Cyrenaic lover of Beauty, and, if the paradox be allowed, a Catholic Epicurean!

G. F. LAHEY.

THE LATEST STIGMATICA.

WE are indebted to the great kindness of the Right Rev. A. Höckelmann, O.S.B., Abbot of Weingarten in Württemberg, for the communication of an interesting series of short articles which have appeared in the Catholic periodical "Die Pforte" of Nürnberg upon the *stigmatisée* Teresa Neumann, whose case has recently attracted so much attention in Germany. The articles we speak of have been contributed by Universitätsdozent Dr. John Hollnsteiner of Munich, who in December last had an exceptionally good opportunity of observing all the phases of Teresa's agonizing vision of the Sacred Passion. But the facts are also attested by other well-known scientists and by theologians of standing. There is no suggestion of fraud. The only point in debate is whether the phenomena observed are or are not susceptible of explanation by purely natural causes.

Teresa Neumann is a peasant girl of Konnersreuth, a village in the Oberpfalz district of Bavaria. She is the eldest child of a family of ten, and is now 28 years of age. Down to the

time of the war she is said to have been strong and healthy and in the spring of 1918 she was doing heavy field work as a farm hand. At that date a fire accidentally broke out in the homestead where she was employed, and to prevent this from spreading every available recruit was called upon to form a chain and pass buckets of water from hand to hand to pour upon the threatened outbuildings. As the result of three hours spent in this strenuous exertion Teresa collapsed, suffering intense pain in the lumbar region. She did not at once resign herself to the life of an invalid. On the contrary she struggled on with her work until the autumn, doing odd jobs about the farm, but another severe strain, incurred at this time, brought on an attack of paralysis, or at any rate something of that nature, which made her a permanent cripple and confined her to her bed. In 1919 an affection of the eyes supervened and she lost her sight. She is said to have shown wonderful resignation amid these heavy trials, though the desire which she had cherished of entering religious life in an Order of nursing sisters was thereby shattered for good and all. She did not pray for the restoration of her health, but on April 29, 1923, the day of the beatification of Sœur Thérèse of Lisieux whom she had always honoured with a simple childlike devotion, her sight was quite unexpectedly given back to her. However, she still remained bed-ridden and a cripple. Two years later, on the day of the canonization of the same holy Carmelite (May 17, 1925), as she seemed to be passing through some strange crisis, the parish priest, her confessor, was called to her. He found her entranced, her eyes immovably fixed upon vacancy, her hands outstretched and her face radiant. A few minutes later she suddenly sat up in bed, a thing which for six years had been quite beyond her power. She stated positively that she would now be able to stand and to walk, and her mother found that her left leg which had so long been doubled up under her had become normal and was extended like the other. Yielding to her confessor's earnest solicitation Teresa explained what had happened. A kindly voice had asked her whether she wished to be cured. She had replied that she wished only what God willed. The voice told her that she would be able to go about again but would by no means be free from pain and infirmity. She must not be discouraged whatever might befall. "I have helped thee before and I will help thee in the future." But suffering was to be prized. "I have written," continued the voice, "that more souls are saved by suffering than by sermons" (See letter 6 of Teresa of the Child Jesus). For some months after this there was great improvement in the patient's general condition. Though weak, she was no longer bedridden. But in November of the same year another serious illness declared itself. An acute

attack of appendicitis was diagnosed which rendered it imperatively necessary to operate that same evening. All preparations were made and the confessor summoned. Teresa asked him whether in view of her mother's poignant distress it would be permissible to pray to the Little Flower to cure her without an operation. Upon the confessor's affirmative answer this was done. Teresa again passed into a state of trance. She saw a brilliant light, raised herself up and stretched out her arms towards it, while the voice bade her put on her clothes and go to the church (it was only a few yards away from where she lived) to give God thanks for her cure. The doctor when he saw her was utterly astonished, but he was nevertheless able to satisfy himself that all trace of inflammation had disappeared.

The Shrove Tuesday of 1926 found Teresa once more confined to bed, and shortly afterwards blood began to run from both eyes. We may note the rather curious coincidence that for some little time before this the case of Elena Ajello which was being studied pathologically by Professor Bianchi of the Naples University had been much discussed in the Catholic newspapers. Tears of blood formed one of the most striking features in the ecstasies of Elena, and while we have no thought of hinting that Teresa was fraudulently, or in any way consciously, imitating the Italian ecstasica, the whole subject of suggestion is so mysterious and the action of mind on body has been as yet so imperfectly investigated, that we cannot exclude the possibility of some influence from this source. Before Passion Sunday, without any assignable cause, there appeared on the left breast in the region of the heart a wound which at times bled profusely but did not suppurate. But it was only on Good Friday itself that the climax was reached. On that day she became a spectator, as it were in a vision, of all the scenes of our Lord's Passion, and, like so many other stigmatics, enacted them in some sense in her own person, suffering at three o'clock the very pangs of the death agony. Besides this she felt cruel pains in her hands and feet, and since that time hands and feet have been marked with traces of wounds, normally covered with a brownish scab, but in certain weeks in which she passes into ecstasy on the Friday, opening and discharging clear arterial blood. On the first anniversary of the canonization of St. Teresa of Lisieux (May 17th of last year) and again on Sep. 30th she once more heard the same mysterious voice, which bade her be patient with the crowds of visitors who came, but urged her to prepare for further sufferings and at the same time to be very careful to lose nothing of that child-like humble-mindedness which was so pleasing to God. It would seem from the accounts we have read that Teresa has thoroughly taken this advice to heart. Upon all those who have seen and spoken with her she

leaves the impression of a simple unaffected piety in which self is completely forgotten.

At the first visit of Dr. Hollnsteiner on Thursday, December 9th last, he found the sufferer so weak and prostrate that he hardly dared hope to witness that re-enactment of the scenes of the Passion which usually took place on the Friday. But the next morning at 9 o'clock he was again admitted and found her lying in bed with a pallid face but with cheeks stained with the blood which had flowed from her eyes and forehead. The wound in the side had been covered by a pad or dressing nearly three quarters of an inch thick, but the blood had soaked completely through it and the traces were conspicuous on her night attire. She was to all appearance unconscious of what went on around her. Visitors came and went. There were sometimes as many as fifteen or twenty people in the room at once. Suddenly she raised herself into a position which it seemed almost impossible to maintain,—half reclining, half seated—looking, though with eyes closed, at something straight before her and stretching out her hands as it were straining to reach it, while intense anguish was depicted on her features. This lasted for seven or eight minutes and then she sank back again exhausted upon her pillow. To judge from her moaning, she had returned to the consciousness of her own physical sufferings, though she was also able to answer a question or two addressed to her by her confessor or her parents. After a brief interval she once more passed into the trance state as the next stage of the Passion disclosed itself to her mental vision. These alternations were repeated until at about a quarter to twelve a long ecstasy began lasting until half-past one, during which she saw our Saviour hanging on the Cross. It only terminated with the death agony in which she herself falls back to all appearance lifeless. For the rest of the day she takes practically no account of what goes on around her. She spends the time in tender colloquies with our Lord, often speaking aloud and begging Him to give her more and more to suffer for His sake, but in such a way that her pains may not be perceived by men. Strange to say she generally sleeps well during the night which follows (on other days she gets hardly more than two hours of sleep) and on Saturday morning she is at her best, her manner exhibiting no trace of the terrible ordeal through which she has passed less than 24 hours earlier. Though very simple and unaffected, Teresa is not stupid and often returns apt replies to her questioners. To a doctor who told her that her visions and bleedings were simply the result of her thinking continually of Jesus Christ and His Passion she is said to have answered: "Well, in that case you had better be careful not to be too much taken up with the devil, or you will find yourself growing a pair of horns."

From a notice in the "*Oberschwäbischen Anzeiger*" of May

13, 1927, we learn that the manifestations have been renewed during the last Lent and Holy Week in an even more pronounced form. Four professors were present at Teresa's bed-side on Good Friday—one of them, we are told, having come from Rome by the express desire of the Holy Father. The range of the visions on this occasion included the anointing and burial of the body of our Lord. Both the upper and under surface of Teresa's hands and feet bled freely, but the wounds were shortly afterwards covered with a thin, transparent skin. On Good Friday she seemed a dying woman, but on the afternoon of Easter Sunday she astounded the professors by getting up, paying a visit to the church and then meeting them in the presbytery, to all appearance in sound health. On Easter Monday she assisted at High Mass and received Holy Communion in the church during it.

The writer who contributes a glowing introduction to the articles in "Die Pforte" seems to be satisfied that the phenomena must be supernatural in origin. He emphasizes the point that such cases of stigmatization, etc., are being multiplied in our day. For one, he says, that becomes known to the public like that of Teresa Neumann, there are many of which no word is ever spoken except to the confessor or to ecclesiastical superiors. A religious priest is quoted as having stated that he knew personally four contemporary cases of stigmatization of which the world at large has no suspicion. We are quite satisfied for our own part that these phenomena are on the increase; but we do not feel constrained to agree with the writer, that the fact is necessarily to be regarded as a divine protest against the materialism of our age. It must not be forgotten that these things are much more talked of and written about than they were in the last century, and the highest medical authorities seem to be agreed that this cannot be without its effect upon suggestible people. It is like the witch mania. The more you talk about witches, the more the witches multiply. Further, as a result of greater medical skill in preserving the lives of the unfit, our age has become more neurotic than that of our grandfathers. Still the wider modern conception of hysteria does not regard it as such a slur as was at one time supposed. Hysteria is a disease which may be associated with exalted virtue, just as stammering may be, or scrupulosity. Of course, if ecclesiastical authority pronounces that the phenomena which we have been considering are of their own nature miraculous, such a decision will be accepted by loyal Catholics without reserve; but the present tendency at Rome seems to be to regard these things with a certain suspicion, and to maintain an attitude of extreme caution. Some points of resemblance between the phenomena of Teresa Neumann and her English namesake Teresa Higginson will be noted with interest.

H.T.

II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH

The Powers
and
China.

It looks as if the terrible danger of a European War with China, for the preservation of what in the last resort are one-sided treaties based on commercial interests, will be avoided, owing to increased dissensions amongst the Chinese themselves, but that does not bring the much desired settlement any nearer. The difficulty of preserving some show of uniformity of action amongst the Powers concerned indicates how far we still are from a world-mind, a sense of the supreme interests of humanity which lie in united action for the cause of justice. The lack of unanimity springs, of course, from mutual distrust, and distrust is founded on the bad opinion which diplomatists have of their several rivals or associates, whilst that bad opinion rests largely upon historical causes. Give a nation a bad name for unscrupulous dealing, for greed, for insincerity, for ambition, and many generations of honest aims and right conduct will be needed before that bad name is lived down. The British attitude in regard to the Concessions and the whole Nationalist movement in China is scrupulously correct. China can have all she wants, but only by process of arbitration and law. The rights claimed by the Concessionaires are defined by legal agreements, to which the Chinese are a party. They have at least an actual validity, until some flaw is discovered in them by a competent Court. When China regains national unity, these rights can be publicly examined by the Permanent Court of International Justice, and brought, if necessary, into thorough accord with the rights of Chinese sovereignty. We believe the British Government to be perfectly sincere in its desire for peace with China on a basis of complete justice. Unfortunately modern Governments are silent and inarticulate entities, compared with the modern Press, and it is the Press which has the ear of the world. The aims of Great Britain are judged abroad, not so much from the dispatches of the Foreign Office but from the filibustering of the irresponsible Jingo newspapers, echoed by the nationalistic Press in other countries. The papers are generally clamant for material interests and have little concern for abstract justice: hence the ever-growing cloud of suspicions that overshadows international intercourse. There are few Frenchmen, we imagine, that have succeeded in banishing, at any rate from their subconsciousness, the seemingly natural connection between the attribute *perfidie* and the subject *Albion*, and behind American comments on British policy may often be traced a resentment to a "Certain Condescension in Foreigners." These historical prepossessions, we suggest, might be finally lived down, if it were not that the tone of the sensational Press, everywhere, con-

tinually revives them. And nothing but educated public opinion can avail to mend the manners of the Press.

**The Southend
Conference
of the C.C.I.R.**

To this end the Catholic Council for International Relations is steadily working, according to the measure of its capacity. Since they have such clear and definite spiritual guidance, Catholics should be the last to hold wrong notions about international justice, and to confuse, as is so often done, right with self-interest. Writing about the origin of the Great War, Baron W. von Bulow said: "From her own point of view Serbia was right in pursuing her national aims. Austria was no less right in seeking to retain her possessions." This typifies a prevalent inaccuracy of thought. If Austria possessed any territory to which Serbia had a clear national right, she had no right to retain it. Rights are just and exclusive titles and there can be no conflict between two rights on the same plane. It is narrow national advantage that so often prompts States to ignore the rights of their neighbours, forgetting that, even in the temporal order, honesty is the best policy. Of course, in the actual intercourse between Governments there is plenty of room for difference of opinion regarding the validity of claims, and for compromise in trying to adjust them. The immediate material interests of nations are often opposed, although their higher interests—peace, justice, and good will—are the same. It is, therefore, difficult for a Government which depends on popular support to subordinate the lower but more tangible good to the higher but more remote. That *civium ardor prava jubentium*, fanned by folly and pride, often demands heroic courage to resist and consummate skill to guide. Hence the value of educational agencies which prevent the populace being Press ridden. If self-interest must be the inspiration of the average man's international outlook, let that self-interest be really enlightened. Just as within the borders of a State, a high and widely diffused measure of prosperity is conducive to its well-being, so the welfare of the world at large depends on the prosperity of each of the several nations. The Southend Conference which, at the invitation of Bishop Doubleday and with the help of the C.W.L., the C.C.I.R. held from May 6th to May 9th, was one of those educational meetings intended to enable Catholics, in the first instance, to get their true international bearings, to detect and denounce those tendencies in their midst which oppose justice and charity, and to work actively for the promotion of international good will. Its success will not consist merely in the local enthusiasm aroused, but in the number and frequency of similar gatherings in other parts of the country. Nationalism, which is a form of selfishness, is almost as hard to realize and to control as the vice from which it springs.

**Progress
in
Disarmament.**

The want of mutual trust exhibited by the Powers in their dealings with China is still more obvious nearer home in the proceedings of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which began its sittings on March 21st and on April 26th suspended them till November without reaching any final result. The still prevalent idea that security must necessarily rest on force, rather than on universal alliance and the reduction of force, dominated the whole proceedings and greatly hampered advance. And the fact that, according to the Versailles Treaty itself, the disarmament of Germany should be taken as the standard and scale to which the rest of Europe must ultimately conform, does not seem to have entered into consideration at all. In fact, the avowed object of the Commission was to secure the limitation, rather than the reduction, of armaments, *i.e.*, to form regulations whereby the forces of each country should be determined, irrespective of their present size. Two draft Conventions were put forward, by England and France respectively, aiming at the same result by widely differing methods, and the Commission spent its whole time in trying to reconcile, not without some success, the divergent views. More driving power is obviously needed: the President openly lamented the absence of adequate "political preparation," by which he seemed to mean that the data provided by the experts had not been well enough digested by the various delegates. But the main driving power must come from the tax-payer, since even in peace time the wealth of the world is being wasted in this "insurance-business," which a little good will and a little common sense would render unnecessary. Failing other stimulants, peace-lovers must look to Germany to put actuality into this Commission. She has every right, even apart from her place in the League, to demand the speedy fulfilment of Article 8 of the Covenant, prescribing reduction of armaments, control of manufacture, etc., in the spirit of that Section of the Peace Treaty which begins—"To render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes . . ." Germany has fulfilled her undertaking, and thus may reasonably claim the genuine fulfilment of the implicit promise in that purposive clause.

The War-Mongers.

It is natural but deplorable that every symptom of reluctance to disarm which the other Powers display should be seized upon by the nationalist groups in Germany to further their own policy of restoring the military and naval strength of the Reich, and of maintaining their claim to territories lost in the war. We believe that, despite the militarists, the French and

German peoples have accepted the principles of pacification embodied in the Locarno treaties. But so voluble are the war-mongers in the Press of both nations that the policy of peaceful understanding is constantly hampered. The recent friendly visit of the French President to King George, which has undoubtedly increased good will between the peoples, has actually been interpreted by certain French publicists as a sign that "Locarno" has been abandoned and the anti-German *entente* restored to full vigour! The affair of the *Action Française* has brought more fully to English notice the campaign of hatred towards Germany pursued in that paper since the Armistice, and serves to explain to some extent the strange reluctance to accept the Pontifical ideal of a League of all Nations against war, once displayed by some of our fellow-Catholics in France. It is a pity that these sentiments, so un-Christian and so unprofitable, should still find expression, but no better evidence could be afforded of the fact that the principles and policy of M. Maurras are a reversal to paganism. The day is approaching—and the *Action Française* is speeding its approach—when nationalism, as preached by Maurras and his fanatical clique, will be condemned as heresy. Meanwhile all that Locarno stands for should be encouraged, and, for our part, we shall rejoice if, one of these days, the President of the new German Republic is invited to London to put the crown on the Christian policy of reconciliation and world-wide friendship. Nor do we exclude from this hope the representatives of a reformed Russia, neither Tzarist nor Bolshevik, but cleansed by its terrible ordeal of all un-Christian social and political theories.

**The International
Economic
Conference.**

There are people who look to the International Economic Conference, which opened at Geneva on May 4th, to become a more potent influence for world-peace than the Disarmament Commission. For one thing, it is attended by representatives of Soviet Russia and of Turkey, as well as by the United States. Then, it has for object, the discovery and remedy of all in the economic world that impedes the proper development of trade and industry, and causes international friction, such as tariff barriers and the fluctuations of currencies. Economists have always protested against the artificial restraints on trade which politicians have laboured to set up between the various States of Europe. Whatever immediate benefit such barriers have brought to the countries concerned, they have retarded the general recovery of Europe, and thus hindered more than helped their individual progress. It is calculated that there are about 7,000 more miles of tariff fences in Europe than there were before the war, all preventing exchange, production

and employment. The Conference has met for the gathering of facts and the framing of suggestions: it has no executive powers, but it will represent the best that the foremost experts of the world can recommend for repairing the ravages of the war. Preparations for it have been going on for over a year, the work of a committee of 35 persons, representing 21 different nationalities and including bankers, industrialists, merchants, workers' and consumers' delegates, agriculturists,—every department, in fact, of commercial activity. The material information collected is very vast, and we may be sure that nothing will be overlooked which could help to form right conclusions. It will probably be for the League afterwards, through the International Labour Office, to embody the results of the Conference in a series of conventions for the acceptance of the various nations. If only the politicians can be induced to abjure making war by means of trade and to give up the vain endeavour to render their respective countries economically independent, a great and unnecessary load will be lifted from the backs of the workers.

**If just, still
not
expedient.**

It is difficult to see what practical benefit will result from the passing of the Trade Disputes Bill, even though its general principles be right and commendable. On the other hand its immediate disadvantages are easily perceptible. Why did the Labour leaders adopt the seemingly foolish attitude of defiance to the proposal even before they knew its terms? Only because, whatever it might contain, it could not help being a piece of class-legislation, an endeavour to regulate the affairs of the workers without taking them, the people most concerned, into due consideration. It was avowedly inspired by the resentment caused—itsself a righteous feeling—by last year's attempt to hold the community to ransom by the General Strike. That attempt ignominiously failed, and there is no danger of its ever being repeated. It has been abandoned as an instrument of policy by all the responsible Labour leaders; and, in fact, many of the rank and file were re-admitted to work on the formal promise not again to use it. There was, therefore, absolutely no need to introduce at this particular time elaborate legal precautions against its repetition. On the contrary, this was the time to push forward schemes of every sort to remedy the grievances of labour—to solve the various problems connected with hours, housing, sweating, factory improvements, security, unemployment, agriculture, co-operation. Since, instead of witnessing an effort to fulfil the generous programme of social reform—the only real remedy for Socialism—with which this powerful Government entered office, the workers see nothing but what may easily be reckoned an attack upon their hard-won liberties,

the abstract justice of the measure proposed and its academic necessity in a perfect State cannot make any appeal to them. In the interests of domestic peace, the Bill could easily have waited whilst more important evils were redressed.

Community Rights and Duties. Much has been heard about "essential services" and the injustice of penalizing the community by a refusal on occasion to carry them on. But so long as those services are provided

by private enterprise employing free labour, the first care of the community, acting through the Government, should be to see that private enterprise treats its employees justly and avoids all needless causes of friction. If the services *are* essential those supplying them, whether as owners or workers, are under a special obligation to steer clear of unjust or unnecessary disputes, but the State should be equally insistent on the employment of the abundant means of conciliation provided, for instance, by the Industrial Courts Act of 1919. This has worked remarkably well since its institution: many more disputes are settled by its means than are carried to the issue of strike or lock-out. With good will and mutual confidence the system could be perfected, whereas the endeavour to assert the rights of the community by compulsion, without seeing that the community does its duty towards those from whose services it benefits, can only perpetuate industrial unrest. Socialism would remove the danger by making all essential services civil services, and replacing private enterprise by the State or municipality. And, unless a remedy is found in voluntary agreement, that disastrous experiment may one day be tried.

**The
Evil of Class
Divisions.**

It can be averted readily enough if only that portent of recent days—the establishment of political divisions on economic lines—can be somehow abolished. It should never have come into existence, for it springs from an abnormal condition of affairs in the State itself—the existence of two clearly defined classes with opposed material interests, the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots," Disraeli's "Two Nations." Twenty-one years ago this phenomenon found its reflection for the first time in Parliament: in 1906 the nation had its warning, when twenty-nine "Labour" members were elected and formed into the Parliamentary Labour Party. There had been "Labour" members before, ever since 1892, but they had generally ranked with the Liberals. Now, they took a party-complexion of their own, and eventually, with numbers swollen to 192, actually held office as H.M. Government. This, we submit, is an anomalous and unfortunate result of previous political mismanagement by the older parties. Neither had had the wisdom sincerely to espouse the

cause of labour and look after the rightful interests of the worker. Neither invited their Labour supporters to their councils nor admitted them to a real share in government. Consequently their legislation was mainly class legislation, even when intended to benefit the worker, and it only accentuated the class feeling in those legislated for. It would seem that now the traditional parties have lost their chance of regaining the allegiance of the workers. Our best hope for the future is the growth of a tendency already apparent, the adhesion to Labour of members of the other two parties, inspired with the desire of social justice and the abolition of unmerited privilege.

**Church and
State.**

The venerable question of the "Civil Allegiance of Catholics," which was debated here in 1870 by such intellectual giants as W. E. Gladstone on the one side and Cardinals Newman and Manning on the other, has come into prominence recently in the United States, where the outstanding merits of Governor Smith of New York seem to designate him as fitting candidate for the Presidency, were it not for the suspicion attaching in the minds of many to his Catholic creed. A certain lawyer, Mr. Charles C. Marshall, took the rôle of Gladstone in this American discussion and published an "Open Letter" to Mr. Smith in the April *Atlantic Monthly*, alleging various instances wherein Catholic doctrine and practice, as he understood them, seem to come into conflict with the constitution of the United States. He was abundantly answered in the Catholic Press, notably in the weeklies, *The Commonwealth* and *America*, and also in the monthly, *The Catholic World*, but more naturally and effectively by the eminent man whom he addressed. Every Catholic knows the answer. Authority, both in Church and in State, comes from God: although the proper spheres of action of both depositaries are distinct and independent, they occasionally intersect, as in the case of marriage, which is a civil contract as well as a sacrament. Both may act outside their proper spheres, and thus engender conflict: history shows that in the vast majority of cases the quarrel is due to the State ignoring or violating the God-given rights of the Church. No enactment of the State which is in accord with conscience and the law of God can be opposed by the Church. The limits to civil allegiance, therefore, are practically those imposed by our knowledge of God's will. Governor Smith, besides stating theological principles, gave his challenger a pragmatic justification. Nineteen times he had been called upon in various high offices to swear allegiance to the Constitution of the United States: never had he found his Catholic convictions at variance with the duties embodied in his oath. That answer should suffice for all men, sufficiently educated to know of the existence

of a moral code, representing the will of the Creator, to which all men, individually and collectively, are bound to adhere. So long as the State acknowledges that code in practice, there can be no genuine conscientious objectors to any of its ordinances. Where the State, as in Mexico, violates that code, not only Catholics but all believers are bound to resist it.

**Law:
Natural and
Positive.**

The un-Christian Austinian theory,—that law is not law unless it can be enforced—although it is still taught in English text-books, has been definitely rejected by a consensus of French jurists and theologians of the first rank, and this very significant result, considering its *provenance*, is set forth with all necessary elaboration in a valuable volume entitled "Enquête sur les Droits de Droit et 'Sa Majesté la Loi,'" edited by Père Michel Riquet, S.J. The existence of a Law of Nature, fixed in its main principles, to which human laws must conform, the sway of this law over international relations, the denial of the absolute sovereignty of the State over conscience, the right and limits of resistance to unjust law—all these facts are proclaimed with complete courage and candour, and the book is one which should do much to guide French thought at this moment, when guidance, in view of errors to right and to left, is so much needed. It is a subject to which we may profitably return later.

Evil Literature.

The Church is officially the guardian of Christian morality, proclaiming its validity, asserting its scope, denouncing its violation. The last function she exercises by means of excommunicating persons and by banning books. But the world of books has vastly outgrown the capacity of any single or central authority to deal with them. Consequently, the Holy Office, in a recent Instruction to all local Ordinaries throughout the world, has engaged their serious co-operation in the attempt to stem the growing flood of corrupt literature, or at least to divert its course from the minds of the faithful. It is to be feared that the faithful in many cases need to have their consciences awakened in this matter. In spite of the fact that the divine law forbids unnecessary exposure to "dangerous occasions" of all sorts, including those that lurk in books and papers, people allow themselves considerable licence in their reading, and it is not uncommon to find notoriously bad novels or heretical periodicals on the tables of professing Catholics. Yet to buy an evil paper or book is to co-operate directly in the evil it is causing. The mischief has gone to such lengths that a special commission of the League of Nations is dealing with it and, as we chronicled in our March issue, many European States have passed laws against commercialized pornography. We have before called

attention to the Report on the subject issued by a Commission of the Irish Government. The nature, scope and aims of that Report are detailed in a very valuable monograph called "Evil Literature: some suggestions," which the Rev. R. S. Devane, S.J., has recently issued (Browne and Nolan: 1s. net). It is to be hoped that this Report will be followed by sound and drastic legislation against a pest which has been too long allowed to infect the public mind. Meanwhile a veteran American journalist suggests in the pages of *America* (April 16th) a device whereby pressure can be brought to bear upon editors who cater for pruriency. It is the ancient and wholesome practice of the concentrated boycott, for the only way of reaching the seared conscience is through the pocket. Papers live by advertisements, advertisements vary directly with circulation. Lessen circulation, therefore, by withdrawing subscriptions and the editor will emend his ways. There is sense in this, but, in any case and whatever be the effect, the genuine Catholic is bound in conscience to boycott the salacious book, paper, play, or film.

**"Votes
for
Flappers."**

It would be easier to find grounds for restricting the franchise in all cases to 25 and upwards than for refusing it to women at the age of 21.

Women are just as well (or just as ill) qualified to exercise the vote at that age as are men. The argument that there will in that case be more women than men voters, and that therefore government and policy will take a predominantly feminine tinge, is fallacious, for it assumes, contrary to experience, that women will always vote as women and not as politicians. However, two events last month have rather shaken our hope that an increase of women-voters will strengthen the cause of morality. The annual meeting of the Women's National Liberal Association has passed a resolution in support of what is called "scientific birth control," and, emulating that evil example, the Labour Women's Conference at Huddersfield demanded, the vigorous and eloquent protest of Catholic members notwithstanding, that the Government ban on the teaching of this vice at public maternity centres should be removed. When adult and responsible women show themselves so lost to the dignity of their sex and the sacredness of its main function, what may we not expect from the less mature? Happily, there has now been provided adequate instruction on this very vital matter, in the publications of Dr. Sutherland's League of National Health and of the C.T.S., and in the very plain and authoritative Lenten Pastoral of the Scottish Hierarchy; and Catholics should do their best to disseminate it amongst the unenlightened. Meanwhile Catholic voters must be keen to detect, in actual and potential Members of Parliament, those who favour immorality of this sort and those who do not.

**The True and
Only
Basis of Unity.**

Echoes of the sincere and pathetic "Appeal for Unity to all Christian People," which the Pan-Anglican Conference issued from Lambeth in 1920, are still to be heard, as the various groups addressed make their several reports in answer to it, and, with more or less emphasis, turn it down. The Catholic Church of course has made no official answer: her attitude, traditional, reasonable, and consistent, is and has always been that the Church of Christ has never lost her essential note of Unity, and that, if there are any that call themselves Christians still outside her fold it is their plain duty to enter, or re-enter, it. For that object she is always zealous, longing to extend the full benefits of redemption to all the human race. Nor has there been any definite response from the schismatic Churches of the East, although various Orthodox sections have acted as if they considered Anglicanism to be already part of the Church. Finally, the "Free Churches," both collectively through their Federal Council and individually by denominations, have shown that they will not accept union with Anglicanism, except on such terms as leaves them intact their own distinctive constitution, including the rejection of Episcopacy and what it stands for. The Lambeth Conference laid itself open to this rebuff by giving a quasi-recognition of the Free Church ministry as it exists. "It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communion which do not possess the Episcopate"—so runs the fatal admission, which logically gives away the case for the necessity of episcopal ordination. In Catholic eyes there is nothing to choose between these two man-made ministries, and, from their own point of view, the Anglican authorities themselves practically equiparate them by speaking of "the Holy Spirit of God, whose call led us all to our several ministries, and whose power enabled us to perform them." So that the ultimate outcome of the Appeal is merely the hope of some shadowy form of federation, based on language and nationality instead of on doctrine, and wholly unlike the ideal of His future Church sketched by our Lord in the Gospels.

**The late Baron
Friedrich
von Hügel.**

The ordinary Catholic, who is not over well-versed in history or philosophy or theology, may be disconcerted sometimes by finding learned Catholic writers, unrebuked by the Church, ventilating views which are not in accord with the plain understanding of the Catechism. One has the case of the late Baron Friedrich von Hügel particularly in mind, for, although the ordinary Catholic may never read his books, he meets critiques of them in Catholic papers which seem inclined to palliate risky or plainly heretical opinions on account of the personal piety of the writer, or he sees him praised by non-

Catholics for the supposed possession of qualities which he knows are not worthy of praise—resistance to constituted authority, freedom of thought, "broadminded" tolerance of error and the like. The plain truth is that von Hügel's powerful and original mind always found it difficult to submit to guidance, and was moreover so busied with "the scanning of errors" amongst his contemporaries as to be somewhat dull to appreciation of truth. Did not our Lord, in thanking His Father for hiding things from the wise and prudent and revealing them to the little ones, emphasize the importance of a docile spirit even in the highly educated? We suspect that the Baron, vast as was his learning, was better read in the multitudinous modern gropings for truth and assertions of error than in the orthodox writings of our time, and he shows a sort of subservience to non-Catholic criticism which is not so marked in his attitude towards the Church's magisterium. But when all is said and done, it is comforting to know that, unlike others whose faith was not so deeply rooted or was not rooted at all, he finally recognized that obedience to God-appointed authority is the highest good. They have done little service to his memory amongst Catholics who have published earlier writings of his, belittling authority and traversing tradition. If we may judge from one of his last letters he himself would not have been eager to keep alive the record of his old doubts. To a characteristically kindly appreciation of the Indian mystic, Sâdhu Sundra Singh, von Hügel adds a valuable autobiographic touch. Explaining why he recommended Catholicism, he wrote—

I saw that during the past fifty years it has been my life's purpose to conduct myself scrupulously as a critical historian and uncompromising philosopher of religion: that my allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church cost me more than ten years of intense struggle and wrestling, precisely because, though I needed a large measure of freedom to carry out the task I had proposed to myself, I was beset by temptations to discard all the obligations of authority and seek complete freedom in individual effort: but that, finally, my fidelity to the Church saved me from scepticism and spiritual arrogance, being, when rightly understood and practised, completely reconcilable with the healthy freedom necessary to my studies. I am not, therefore, recommending something the price of which I do not know. This price is really so great that only a strong faith can pay it. But the reward is great—the greatest a soul can receive, or God by His grace can offer.

Learning has its perils as well as ignorance: *scientia inflat*. The Baron's faith and humble Christian practice stood firm when

that of many as learned but not so humble succumbed. This thought must accompany perusal of his posthumous works.

**An Attack
on
Marriage.**

The worst sign of the spread of Paganism in our midst—a Paganism which reproduces only the low ideals and advocates only the base practices of pre-Christian times; for Paganism also had its duties and recognized some virtuous endeavour—is not the occasional outburst in speech or writing of some shameless libertine, but rather the absence of any immediate and adequate reaction in the community affected. There is little zeal left for Christian morality even in those who maintain its absolute necessity for the preservation of civilization. The assailants are more energetic than those who defend the citadel. We do not refer to the publications of the Rationalist Press Association, which was founded and is supported openly as an anti-Christian agency and which has no doubt some influence amongst the semi-educated, but to the indifference with which reputable publishers and editors issue books and articles, freely attacking the very basis of morality, as if they had no responsibility for the poison they purvey, and the public no right to be preserved from such evils. Those whose profession is the welfare of soul and body are naturally under the sternest obligation not to frustrate their official aims by immoral and unhealthy recommendations. Happily, clerical writers are for the most part above reproach as to morals, though there are few “damned errors” in faith which do not find advocates in the non-Catholic religious Press. Would that the medical men were equally blameless. Yet not a few are notorious for their advocacy of contraception, and do their best, in that and other ways, to sap the foundations of Christian marriage which itself is the keystone of civilization. As we have said it is the tolerance shown to these moral Bolsheviks that forms such a disquieting sign of the times. In April last a well-known monthly medical journal did not scruple to publish, without any editorial *caveat* or disclaimer, a pernicious article entitled “Marriage,” which embodies an open advocacy of free love and free divorce, lowers marriage to the level of the stock-yard, and condones sexual licence as often a practically irresistible natural need. The arguments, so to call them, are a rehash of those advanced by the immoralists, Bloch and Bauer, and the whole paper reeks of that animality which degrades man below the beasts. That it should be written need cause no wonder. We know only too well what becomes of human nature when the restraints of law and conscience are removed. But that it should be published is a disgrace to the medical profession and a lamentable evidence of the decay of Christian principles in the community.

THE EDITOR.

III. NOTES ON THE PRESS

[A summary survey of current periodicals with a view to recording useful articles which 1) expound Catholic doctrine and practice, 2) expose heresy and bigotry, and 3) are of general Catholic interest.]

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

"Birth-Control," Some Aspects of [L. Watt, S.J., in *Catholic Monthly Review*, April, May, 1927].

Faith is not founded on mere Reason [*Universe*, April 8, 1927, p. 12].

Justice and Inter-State Relations [G. A. Anderson in *Commonweal*, April 27, 1927, p. 683].

CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

Anglicanism and the Council of Trent [H. O. Evennett in *Dublin Review*, April, 1927, p. 207].

Anglicanism, Perils of Compromise with [Rev. H. E. G. Rope in *Catholic Monthly Review*, March, April, 1927].

"Anglo-Catholic" History [Jos. Clayton in *Catholic Times*, April 15, 1927, p. 14].

Anti-Papal Calumnies [H. Thurston, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, March, April, May, 1927].

Continuity, Cardinal Bourne on [*Universe*, *Tablet*, *Catholic Times*, April 23, 30, 1927: At York, B. Grimley in *Catholic Gazette*, May, 1927, p. 131].

Freemasonry: character, activities, Papal condemnation of [E. Cahill, S.J., in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April, May, 1927].

Gosse, Sir E., Low Protestant bigotry of [B. Grimley in *Catholic Gazette*, May, 1927, p. 150].

Miracles: assailants and supporters [Dr. James A. Ryan in *Commonweal*, April 20, 27, 1927].

Russell, Mr. Bertrand: a muddled philosopher [E. J. Watkin in *Dublin Review*, April, 1927, p. 173].

POINTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

"Action Française": how it has injured Catholicism and Peace [A. Lugan in *Catholic World*, May, 1927, p. 147].

Church in Portugal; Recent History [E. T. Long in *Catholic Times*, April 15, 1927, p. 14].

Cinematograph and Censorship [E. Garesché, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1927, p. 465].

Education, Failure of National [*Universe*, April 29, 1927, p. 12].

Education, Catholic claim uniform and consistent [*Universe*, May 6, 1927, p. 1 and 12].

Eugenics in the Christian Sense [C. Bruehl, D.D., in *Homiletic Review*, May, 1927, p. 801].

India, Catholic Prospects in [P. S. Paulit in *Inter-University Magazine*, May, 1927, p. 99].

Labour employing Capital: a remedy for Wage-Slavery [H. Somerville in *Catholic Times*, April 22, 1927, p. 11].

Peace Movements amongst Catholics, Survey of [Rev. G. Feigl in *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis), April 15, 1927, p. 167].

Peace, American Catholic Association for International [J. Husslein, S.J., in *America*, April 30, 1927, p. 65].

School and University: how to bridge the Gulf between [C. C. Martin-dale, S.J., in *Inter-University Magazine*, May, 1927, p. 83].

Zionism, Failure of [R. Ginns, O.P., in *Catholic Times*, April 20, 1927, p. 14].

REVIEWS

I—A NEW LIFE OF ST. BERNARD¹

IF, as recent testimonies have proved, the fascination of St. Francis has captured all men of good will, that of St. Bernard is no less potent; may it not be said that there are no other two men in history, not excluding St. Francis de Sales or St. Vincent, who have at once so many friends and so few enemies? And even over the Little Poor Man of Assisi St. Bernard has an advantage; for while we know the former chiefly from those who have written of him, St. Bernard had drawn his own portrait in his letters and other writings, and it is impossible to have any acquaintance with these, however cursory, without at the same time feeling a deep affection for their author. Never has a more human soul expressed itself in letters, its strong emotions and its indignations, its attractions and its aversions, its towering ideals and its sympathy for weakness, than has that of Bernard of Clairvaux; if ever there was a human saint it was this founder of the utterly unworldly Cistercian Order.

It is not, therefore, strange that from the beginning, even before he was yet dead, many should have studied this man and tried to draw his portrait; it is more impressive to realize the variety of those who have attempted it—Bonaventure and Aquinas, Fra Angelico and Perugino, Dante and many another poet, Bellarmine and Canisius, Luther and Calvin, with a host of writers of every school in more recent times. To all he stands out as the giant of his generation, the last of the Fathers and the first of the Scholastic Age, the soul of the Crusades; that is, of the Age of Chivalry, the beacon light that dawned on what is known as the Dark Ages; but to many, who have studied him more intimately, he is yet more the saint of human love, beautiful in heart and soul as he seems to have been in body and in features, who, with all his austerity, perhaps indeed because of it, could break down in tears and be paralysed by the death of a friend in later life, no less than by the death of his mother in his youth.

This new *Life*, extending over more than 750 pages, is a valuable work. With studious care the author has, so far as possible, let St. Bernard tell his own story; in consequence we have put before us the setting and circumstances of many of his writings and letters, which alone make the book an indispensable work of reference. Behind this he has given us the historical background; this again, because of the upheaval of those times, and the many ways in which, in spite of himself, Bernard stood

¹ *Life and Teaching of St. Bernard.* By Ailbe J. Luddy, O.Cist. Dublin: Gill and Son. Illustrated. Pp. xv. 774. Price, 21s. net.

out as the leader of his generation, solves for the ordinary reader many a difficult problem in the life and writings of the saint. Thirdly, there are the special dogmatic problems connected with the name of St. Bernard; living as he did exactly a century before St. Thomas, and with no such training, as the University of Paris was but just preparing to develop in his time, the wonder is, not that St. Bernard did not always speak as the later scholastics, but that the differences are so few.

But, above all, readers will thank the author for the living picture he has succeeded in giving us of the saint. Of course, by following the approved method he has let St. Bernard describe himself; and the saint pours out in these pages his high sanctity and his human affection, his fiery indignation and his weeping pity, above all his soaring love and all the sacrifice that it made easy, in characteristic language which does the heart good. The success with which passages from the saint's works have been selected and arranged proves an intimate acquaintance with them all; the translation, so far as it is possible to translate St. Bernard's elegant but somewhat over-crisp Latin, gives us a true idea of the original.

Whether as a biography of a saint or as a work of history we recommend this volume, by no means expensive considering all that it contains. Moreover it is admirably printed and produced; "a credit to Irish craftsmanship," as the author very truly says in his Foreword. We congratulate both author and publishers on an excellent work.

2—BUDDHISM¹

SELDOM does one find a writer so well equipped for his task as the author of this "Life of Buddha." To mention only linguistic attainments, Dr. Thomas, Hellenist and former professor of Greek, is at home in Semitic philology, and he is an English scholar of distinction. Moreover, he is one of the few English writers who read with ease the principal modern languages of Europe. His special claim, however, on the Directors of the "History of Civilization" series for being selected as their exponent of Buddhism is no doubt his expert knowledge of both Sanscrit and Pali—the languages in which the earliest Buddhist sacred writings are preserved. With such equipment it is not to be wondered if the author has produced what is likely, for many years to come, to rank as the standard English work on Buddhism.

A learned introduction furnishes a critical account of official

¹ *The Life of Buddha, as Legend and History.* By Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. (History of Civilization Series). London: Kegan Paul. Pp. xxiv. 297, large octavo. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

Buddhist documents, styled, in borrowed language, "The Canon of Buddhist Scriptures." Then, in twelve chapters, we have a minute and somewhat lengthy exposition, on critical and historical lines, of Buddha's ancestry, birth, enlightenment, preaching, austerities, propagation of doctrine, and last days. These historical investigations are appropriately followed by four learned dissertations: two bearing on Buddhism as a Religion, and as a Philosophy; and two dealing with Buddha and Myth, Buddha and History. Then comes the last and possibly the most interesting chapter of the book: Buddhism and Christianity. This chapter, in the opinion of the reviewer, will become a *locus classicus* for students of Comparative Religion, and for Christian Apologists. An Appendix provides detailed lists of the various Buddhist scripture canons, and also a bibliography, the extent of which becomes explicable when one remembers that Dr. Thomas is sub-librarian at the Cambridge University Library. The author has throughout applied the scientific method, treating every minute detail with the most scrupulous exactitude, and with such reverence that even modern Buddhists will welcome his exposition as a true account of their faith. All this is so much to the good; yet the present writer must hasten to confess that he would probably have found an equally exhaustive and critical review of the Roman or Greek Olympus less wearisome reading, from the standpoint of religious interest. Our readers will also be interested to learn that Dr. Thomas (p. 1186) quotes a definition or rather description of Mysticism from the Abbé Brémond's well-known work, and finds its counterpart in certain Buddhist phenomena of trance or contemplation. There is also a note identifying Plotinus' union with the one, and Spinoza's *Amor Dei intellectualis* with Mme Guyon's "Mystic Death." Recent research tends to confirm Bossuet's verdict on this celebrated pseudo-mystic.

We earnestly commend this work to all students of Religion, and we hope it will find a place in all our Theological libraries, as well as on the shelves of every individual professor of Apologetics. What specially enhances the value of the author's conclusions is his freedom from bias and his sole preoccupation to present facts as he finds them in the original documents. This is conspicuously the case in his presentation of the alleged analogies between Buddhism and Christianity. These analogies are detailed with painstaking accuracy, and the reader is left to draw his own conclusions. As far as this reviewer can see, there is only one conclusion in this case, and that inevitable; to wit, there is no evidence whatever for the allegation that Buddhism in any form or shape exerted the least influence either on our Gospels or on early Christian practice.

J.D.

3—A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE PARAGUAY REDUCTIONS¹

COMMUNISM has become, in our own day, almost a religious ideal for many, an ideal which has an enormous psychological appeal and inspires its adherents with a quasi-missionary ardour. The semi-communistic unique experiment of the Jesuits in Paraguay, their famous System of Reductions, has always aroused the interest and admiration of numerous political thinkers, philosophers, economists and social reformers. Men of the most divergent callings and denominations, such as Montesquieu, Châteaubriand, A. von Haller, Joh. von Müller, Macaulay, Bluntschli, Cunningham Graham, von Martius, Ungewitter, Boehme and many others have expressed their warmest appreciation of this Christian enterprise. But the Commonwealth of Paraguay, the "Jesuitenstaat," where money was unknown to the majority of its citizens, where the economic machinery, with its democratic organization of property, production, industries, division of labour, with its strictly regulated distribution of food and clothing and luxuries, with its public feasts and plays and entertainments, seemed to have realized the boldest dreams of modern Socialists and Communists, must have an enhanced interest in our own days, where another practical "experiment of a Communistic State" has provoked the suspicion and opposition of the whole civilized world. Needless to point out that modern Communism has but little resemblance with the essentially theocratic system of the Reductions, where all property was "God's property," where the social institutions, hospitals, schools, belonged to "God's household," where a strong central authority was revered as holding God's place.

The Jesuit Reductions have been, as we have said, the object of the most sincere admiration, but they have met also with the bitterest criticism. Dr. Maria Fassbinder's book, no less fascinating than scholarly, based on profound research and the best sources, gives a complete and systematic up-to-date account of this singular creation of Catholic missionary activity. Written *sine ira et studio*, this valuable book is equally free from immoderate praise and biassed prejudice, a great achievement, indeed, in consideration of the distracting voices from two opposed camps.

But it is not only the historian, but also, and foremost, the student of political and social science to whom the book will

¹ *Der "Jesuitenstaat" in Paraguay*, von Dr. rer. pol. Maria Fassbinder. Halle: Max Viemeyer Verlag. Pp. x. 161. 1926.

make its strong appeal, as all the problems of legal constitution, social institutions, government, economic organization have been approached from his angle of view. Although highly technical in its discussions of those social and economic questions, its fascinating style and the highly interesting history of that "Vanished Arcadia" will command the general interest of the public and a particular welcome from Catholic readers. Scores of inveterate lies of history, repeated *ad nauseam* and propagated like hereditary diseases, have been disposed of, one might hope, for good, by overwhelming carefully documented evidence. By no means blind to the many weak points and imperfections of the system, the author comes to the conclusion that there is little foundation and depth beneath the shallow phrases of "the sterile extravagant theocratic despotism" of the Jesuits, held to have made the Indian population a "*servile pecus*, knowing no rule but that of their Superiors," that, on the contrary, the Jesuits did their utmost to educate the Guaranis for autonomy and to teach them as much of civilization as the deep-rooted indolence of the race would allow and an Indian tribe, just emerged from semi-nomadism, was capable of absorbing. The author thinks that the Jesuits did rather too much in this regard than too little.

The high note on which the book ends "*Magna est veritas et praevalebit*" is characteristic of this important research work, and in the interest of truth, "the whole truth and nothing but the truth," the book deserves the widest circulation.

Two maps and a plan of San Ignacio Mini are helpful additions. What still remains desirable is a short index at the end for purposes of reference.

4—THE CLOSE OF A GREAT WORK¹

IN his previous volumes, Father Fouqueray has related the history of the Society in France to the year 1623; the first treating of its origin and fortunes up to the expulsion of 1594, the second dealing with the reign of Henry IV., and the third with the minority of Louis XIII. Now in two further volumes he brings to completion the part of the history entrusted to him, roughly comprising the first hundred years of its existence. These describe the progress and the activities of the Society during the last twenty years of Louis XIII.'s reign, when Richelieu was the preponderating influence in the government of France. The Cardinal appears throughout as a protector of

¹ *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus en France.* By H. Fouqueray, S.J. Vol. IV. (1624—1634), Vol. V. (1634—1645). Paris: Bureaux des Etudes.

the Society but as a protector who is autocratic, jealous and Gallican. It was no easy task for the French Jesuits to retain the favour of such a minister and at the same time uphold the authority due to the Holy See, together with their own lawful independence and liberty of action. Adversaries were not wanting who were ever alert and ready to seize any opportunity to compromise the Society and provoke against it the animosity of the all-powerful Cardinal:—Universities envious of its success in the field of education, Parliaments strongly imbued with Gallican principles, Bishops inclined to exaggerate their rights to the detriment of the Pope's authority, St. Cyran and the earlier Jansenists hating the Society for making manifest the poisonous and heretical character of their tenets. And quite apart from adversaries, the situations and events were themselves such as to demand rare tact and prudence:—the estrangement brought about by Richelieu between the King and his Queen Mother, both great friends and benefactors of the Society; the alliance of France with heretics against the other Catholic powers in the Thirty Years' War; the disputes over the temporal power of the Pope; the conflict between the Seculars and Regulars in which similar and contemporaneous contentions in our own country had their repercussion. It says not a little for the enlightened prudence of the French Jesuits and especially of their Superiors that, apart from one or two "individual" cases, they were able—without sacrifice of principle—to keep the favour of the Cardinal-minister,—without which they could not have maintained, still less increased, their activities for the good of souls. They were indebted, however, for the success of their enterprises, far less to the minister than to the King, who loved the Society, defended and heaped favours upon it. That success was indeed very considerable:—some thirty new foundations, the progress of the earlier establishments, the development of apostolic works within the kingdom; the growth of the missions of Canada, Constantinople and the Levant; the spiritual influence exercised on all classes of society; the advancement of higher studies and of secondary education and the great achievements in the domain of the sciences and arts of such French Jesuits as Fathers Fronton du Duc, Sirmond, Petau, Claude Tiphaine, etc., etc. At the end of this period the Society had in France 5 provinces, 75 colleges for the education of 40,000 to 45,000 pupils, 4 professed houses, 7 noviceships, 17 residences, 6 missions and more than 2,000 subjects. The story of this progress as unfolded in the pages of Father Fouqueray is full of interest: his style is easy and attractive, his treatment dispassionate and objective, and both volumes are well documented.

SHORT NOTICES.

BIBLICAL.

THE Editors have taken advantage of the continued demand for the "Westminster" Version of *St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches* (Vol. III. of the whole New Testament) to issue a thoroughly revised second edition, which profits by their accumulated experience and the counsels of critics. Those who have not yet realized what light can be thrown on St. Paul's meaning by a translation which is both accurate and literary, modern and dignified, are advised to begin with this volume (Longmans: 8s. 6d. n.). The materials for the fourth volume are now ready to be assembled, St. Matthew's Gospel is awaiting final revision and the rest of the N.T. is well in hand.

We welcome the second volume of *I Canti Divini*, by Father Tricerri, O.P. (Marietti: 20.00 l.), which should prove no less useful than the first in helping those who read Italian to appreciate the psalms and canticles. Introductions, translations and notes are offered, with much literary illustration, even including some ancient Vedic and Egyptian and Babylonian hymns, and an Italian rendering of a fine passage from Milton's "Paradise Lost" (p. 381).

MORAL THEOLOGY.

We have received the second volume of the *Compendium Theologicum Moralis* of Rev. J. Ubach, S.J. (Herder and Co.: Marks 14.50, bound, pp. xvi. 715 and Index). This volume deals with the Sacraments and Censures. It is no exaggeration to say that the author goes to the root of matters more completely than any other modern author (cf. pp. 595—600; 457 sqq. for two examples). He has examined with considerable acumen the conclusions of modern authors and, at times, vigorously dissents from them (p. 598, note), but with good reasons. We think that he has made a distinct contribution to the elucidation of the subject. The work appears to us to be an independent piece of scholarly investigation and not a mere repetition of what has been already said. There are added useful references in an appendix to the Civil Codes of France, Spain, Portugal and the S. American States. We have been unable to find answers to the vexed questions that have arisen on Canon 731, §2, and Canon 1063; the author's opinion on "Common error" is that usually held, but we believe that Cappello has made out a good case for the wider view. We recommend this work to all students of Moral Theology.

L'Obligation Morale (Museum Lessianum, Louvain: 10.00 fr.) is a study worthy of its talented author, Père E. Mersch, S.J. He describes it as a study of moral philosophy, and no doubt it is destined primarily for those who are interested in ethics; but psychology, epistemology and theodicy are all involved in the question of moral obligation, directly or indirectly, and the author does not shirk the task of dealing with each, so far as necessary for the exposition of his subject. He is fortunate in combining an attractive and interesting style with a profound insight into metaphysical principles, and his happy choice of illustrations and metaphors makes his book both pleasant to read and easy to understand, at least for those who are not entirely unfamiliar with philosophy. Beginning with an analysis of the act of the will and the judgment of value, he goes on to show the impossibility of relativism in ethics.

The Absolute is the only sufficient foundation of moral obligation, so that there can be no true ethics without God. The difficult question of the psychology of altruism is dealt with in chapter 6, and one reader at least is not quite satisfied that Père Mersch has succeeded in avoiding the "fallacy of composition" into which Mill fell; nor do the further remarks in the next chapter make it quite clear how the will, which can only will its own good, can will the good-in-general. This point is so important that one would like to see Père Mersch do justice to himself by making it clear to "the meanest intelligence."

APOLOGETIC.

With a rather rhetorical title, **Deathless Army—Advance!** (B.O. and W: 6d.), Father O. F. Dudley, of the Catholic Missionary Society, has reprinted a series of stirring articles from the *Catholic Times* urging the need, for the preservation and advance of the Faith in this country, of a keener realization of its obligations by the Catholic rank and file. The pamphlet should form admirable recruiting-matter for the lately established Apostolic League for the Conversion of England.

We extend a hearty welcome to **The Church of Christ: An Apologetic and Dogmatic Treatise**, by E. Sylvester Berry, D.D. (Herder: 12s.), for it will be found most useful by any enquirer or reader of average intelligence. Dr. Berry, in the Apologetic part of his book (pp. 1—189), establishes the fact that Christ founded a Church, and that this Church is the Catholic Church. In the Dogmatic part (pp. 189—566) he discusses the question of the Mystical Body (pp. 192—212), Members of the Church (pp. 212—246), Authority of the Church (pp. 240—264), Rulers of the Church (pp. 264—296): the main portion (pp. 296—512) deals with the Primacy, the Episcopate, Councils, Infallibility: and (pp. 512—566) with Church and State. We are especially pleased to notice that Dr. Berry has included a discussion of the Mystical Body, and also, that he rejects the metaphorical distinction, as commonly but loosely interpreted, between the body and soul of the Church in the question of her membership. In the Apologetic portion he uses the proof from the Marks of the Church—a traditional and conclusive method: but we cannot help regretting that he has not also included the proof, sanctioned by the Vatican Council, from the Church as she exists historically—a moral miracle, when one considers her marvellous spreading through the world, her eminent holiness, her inexhaustible fecundity in good works, her catholic unity and her unconquerable stability (Sess. III. cap. 3). This solid and exhaustive work of nearly 600 pages is a valuable addition to the Catholic armoury.

DEVOTIONAL.

Mother Mary Loyola, our veteran author, has given us in this second and concluding part of her book of Meditations, **With the Church: the Ascension to Advent** (B.O. and W., 7s. 6d.), a further collection of what we suspect are her own devout musings, arranged, amplified and illustrated from many sources, so that they may become matter for spiritual reading for others. Her thoughts are reflective of the circumstances in which the Church lives in England to-day; her illustrations are almost startlingly contemporary; we feel we are reading the mind of one who is wide awake to the harvest growing around her, is full of hope for the future, and therefore of encouragement to the labourers in the present.

HISTORICAL.

So many holy and sad memories cluster around the cradle of Christianity in Britain that **The Glories of Glastonbury** (Sheed and Ward: 2s. 6d. n.), by Armine le S. Campbell, should be welcome to every Catholic. The authoress has recorded the beautiful legends, the stirring events, the bitter tragedies, that centre about this hallowed spot, and one gathers in epitome the religious history of England from her pages. One gathers, too, the hatred with which the Catholic Faith was pursued by the reformers who would fain have ruined it as they destroyed its material shrine. The booklet is beautifully got up and tastefully illustrated both by vignettes and full-page photo-reproductions.

The appositeness of the appearance of **The Faith of York** (Harding and More: 1s.), by W. P. Thurstan, B.A., is emphasized by its sub-title—"a Souvenir of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Founding of York Minster, A.D. 627." The book traces both the material and the spiritual history of the great Church, and takes occasion, from the pages of Bede and other writers, to explode the foolish error that modern Anglicanism has any vital connection with the old religion which built and worshipped in the Minster.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

The "Museum Lessianum" has already shown itself a worthy child of the Bollandists. It has produced now a number of volumes, all of which are models of careful research. The present *Life*, or rather history, of the great apostle of Belgium, **Saint Amand**, by Edouard de Moreau, S.J. (Museum Lessianum, 25 francs), is another work of which the "Museum" may well be proud. Father de Moreau is a skilled historian. He has left no likely place unsearched for the earliest evidence; he has left no legend unexamined; and though in consequence many stories of the saint are seen to be more than doubtful, though of the saint's own personal character we have little direct evidence, still there results a wonderful picture both of the times and circumstances in which he lived, and of the undoubtedly great work he did. For St. Amand was not only the apostle of Belgium; he evangelized also the Slavs on the Danube, the Basques of the Pyrenees, and a great part of the North of France. Undoubtedly he was one of the great pioneers who made Christian Europe; and he made it, it would seem, chiefly by means of erecting monasteries. In Belgium and France this will be a permanent addition to their historical libraries; in England it should be no less, for the name of St. Amand held a prominent place in early English liturgies.

Father J. Hafer, C.S.S.R., a pupil of Pastor, reflects not a little of his great master's method in **St. Clement Maria Hofbauer: A Biography** (Translated by the Rev. John B. Haar, C.S.S.R., Herder, 18s.). So thorough and detailed has he been in his research that he has produced a work of over 500 pages which are, as the translator says, a history rather than a biography. St. Clement lived in an age of European upheaval (1751—1820) and in a part of Europe where that upheaval was most felt; his personality forced him into the notice of great men, his work among souls compelled many to comment upon him even in political dispatches. Nevertheless, within the crowded pages of history, the character of the saint is manifest; a strong and selfless man, whose single-minded earnestness carried him through every trial, whose humility made him the friend equally of the lowly and the great, whose devotion

to his Order enabled him to spread the Redemptorist Fathers far beyond Italy. Like other saints he lived for long periods under various clouds; like them he has come to his own. St. Clement was a saint of high courage; as such he should be an inspiration to many. Preachers especially will find in him a saint after their own hearts; and in this volume a very living portrait.

Literature concerning Sainte Thérèse de Lisieux continues to come; the Little Flower, with all her simplicity, is still unfathomed. On the one hand Father Henry Day, S.J., in *The Love Story of the Little Flower* (Sands, 2s. 6d.), gives us in 72 pages her life studied entirely from that "affective" angle; on the other in *L'Enfant Chérie du Monde* (Mame, 12 francs), M. Fernand Laudet has ventured to describe, more we think than any writer before him, the suffering side of the saint's life with all that it entailed. On this account we think his work is a distinct addition to Theresian literature.

NON-CATHOLIC.

As he reads *Essays in Christian Politics and Kindred Subjects*, by William Temple, Bishop of Manchester (Longmans: 7s. 6d. net), a Catholic reviewer is continually tempted to ask himself, What is the matter with the book? There is so much that is fascinating as an explanation of many things which at present occupy our minds, politics, democracy, industry, faith, marriage, and even the Church of England; but one cannot get away from the feeling that it is chiefly explanation and no more; theory evolved to suit facts rather than fixed dogmatic teaching. Suddenly, in an essay on a very vital matter we come across the sentence: "I hold myself ready to change my opinion about every main position taken up." *This* is the matter with the book. It is stimulating, it is full of much keen thought, but definite and final conclusions must not be expected from the Bishop of Manchester, not even on a subject so sacred as Christian marriage. Disbelief in the possibility of reaching absolute truth is the main cause of the doctrinal chaos outside the Church.

If you have no belief in revelation, if you think man is evolved from the beast, if you deify science, which after all is but the product of man's observation and reflection, and ignore God who made you, if, in addition to this mental outlook you possess a wide acquaintance with rationalistic literature and a vivid journalistic style, you may be able to produce a work like *This Believing World: a Simple Account of the great Religions of Mankind* (Benn: 7s. 6d. n.). This is what Mr. Lewis Browne, who writes from Jerusalem but hails from the States, has actually done. His book illustrates the wildest excesses of evolutionary Comparative Religion. Although the name is nowhere prominent in it, it might be called "The Gospel according to Sir J. Frazer." Catholics have no use for it, except the use which the Spartans made of inebriated helots.

FICTION.

He is a rash man who essays to tell a school-boy story and hopes to achieve something new in the way of episode and adventure. Father M. Bodkin, S.J., in *Floodtide: a Story of Cluan College* (Talbot Press: 5s. n.) has not been so rash. His tale is concerned with the development of character, and he brings nothing very extraordinary into the history of his hero's school life. A polished style and a well-developed *dénouement* combine to make a very readable book.

The fact that it now appears in its thirteenth edition, having been published originally at the end of last century, proves that there is sterling worth in Father Joseph Spillmann's exciting and edifying story—*A Victim to the Seal of Confession* (Herder: 4s. 6d.), which conveys sound doctrine in a highly dramatic form.

A suddenly-acquired inheritance is always a test of character and in *The Dummy of Stainwright Hall* (Herder: 6s. n.) G. Leslie Baker subjects to this experience a family of interesting children, throwing in mysterious passages, inquisitive neighbours, a ghost of sorts, and a happy solution to the whole whimsical tale.

There is plenty of adventure in *The House of Mystery* (Herder: 7s. 6d.), by Lida L. Cogan, and some villainy too, but after much perplexity everything gets straightened out, justice is done, Jack has his Jill, and the reader rises refreshed by contact with pleasant American people and unfamiliar American scenes.

VERSE.

Of these four slim, paper-bound volumes, by Mr. Hibbart Gilson, entitled severally *Uninspired Verse*, *Songs to My Sunshine*, *The Hidden Splendour*, *Beyond a Dream's Domain*, printed in Belgium, published in England (Drane: 2s. 6d. each), with quaint cover designs by Ian B. Gray, the two written in prose with the lines arranged in hour-glass fashion are the more curious. In the fourth volume the author declares his discovery of Christianity and his consequent recantation of the vague ideals and aspirations recorded in the earlier volumes. Extreme simplicity and a certain robust sincerity afford the principal claim to interest which these volumes possess.

That Hilaire Belloc can write in his preface to *Poems*, by Ruth Pitter (Sheed and Ward: 5s.), "I have found in Miss Pitter's verse, which I here set out to praise, an exceptional reappearance of the classical spirit among us," will assure any lover of literature that the book is worth reading. It is worth more than that—it is worth buying; for it is a book one would wish, after a first reading, to keep as a permanent possession. It is marked by gravity, a sense of proportion, restraint, and that indefinable air of mastery so satisfying to the reader. In poem after poem one is assured of beauty—negatively: not cheap, not thin, not clap-trap; positively: rich, full, steady, flowing like a wide river well within its banks; negatively again: not petulant, not noisy, but calm, musical, strong. The book is finely produced, well printed, well spaced, and bound with admirable simplicity—the only cheap thing about it being the price.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The study of language, and especially of the colour of language, has always had its fascination, at least since Aristotle made of it almost a philosophy, and Cicero fixed it as a serious study for all time. Father S. J. Brown, S.J., in *The World of Imagery* (Kegan Paul: 12s. 6d. net), has chosen for examination chiefly one "colour" only, that of metaphor, and a wonderfully interesting book he has produced. First he explains how metaphor comes to play so great a part in all language, and what that part is; then he applies his theory, with very entertaining results; he concludes with sixty pages of illustrations which give evidence of very wide reading, and which alone make the volume of value to the student

of literature. We confess to a certain fear of books on the analysis of rhetoric; Father Brown has written one which soon dispels any alarm.

The author of *Newman as a Man of Letters* (B.O. and W.: 7s.6d.)—Joseph J. Reilly, Ph.D.—tells us, almost to our surprise, that though much has been written about Newman from other points of view yet explicitly as a "Man of Letters" he has never been considered more than incidentally. Somewhere we remember Newman's expression of resentment as being looked upon as a "Man of Letters"; he was a master of English, perhaps the greatest master of English prose that has ever lived, but he never would look upon this mastery as anything more than a means to a greater end. A "Man of Letters," in the commonly accepted sense, he was not. Still it may be said that he held that rank *per accidens*; and as such he deserves to be studied. Dr. Reilly's examination of Newman, as he reveals himself in his writing, fortunately goes beyond the title of the volume; on this account we think even the sensitive Newman would have been reconciled to it. In the analysis of Newman's character the book contains many excellent pages.

We have space only to notice the long-expected appearance of Vol. I. of *Universal Knowledge*, that complete compendium of information, projected by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* authorities to form a book of reference which Catholics can safely use and beyond which they need not ordinarily go. The first volume, equipped with maps and illustrations, comprises the letter A, and runs to 850 pages. It is printed in very readable type, is easy to open and handle and treats of 3,387 subjects. Price, according to binding, from green cloth \$6.25 to full morocco \$17.50. The enterprise will be completed in 12 volumes and it is hoped to publish three every year (Universal Knowledge Foundation, 19 Union Sq. W., New York).

Dr. Frieden's handy little book—*Das französische Bildungswesen in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Paderborn, Schöningh: 3.60 m.)—which has just appeared in the pedagogic series of the enterprising publishers Ferd. Schöningh, is full of valuable information about the various educational systems of France in the past and at present. France has always been "semeuse d'idées," a fertile soil of new ideas, particularly about education. Names of such divergence and variety as Rabelais, Montaigne, Descartes, Diderot, Rousseau, Fénelon, Jacotot, Comte, Dupanloup, J. B. de la Salle, Taine, give some indication of the fierce battle of ideas and ideals fought around this vital problem. The author succeeds in giving a terse and lively account of those intellectual, moral and religious struggles for the "soul of the Child," the "Man of to-morrow." His well-balanced statements about the important influence, exercised by Catholic Orders such as Jesuits, Oratorians, Christian Brothers, teaching Nuns, deserve special attention of Catholics to whom their French brethren, in their determined fight against the godless laws imposed upon them, are a spectacle for admiration.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

A very useful pamphlet has been compiled by the Very Rev. M. J. Legoc, O.M.I., of Colombo, called *The Unity of the Church and the Supremacy of Rome* (Indian C.T.S.: 6 annas), wherein the author, after the theological exposition of the Note of Unity as illustrated in the Catholic Church, shows how the Primacy of Peter was transferred to

the occupants of his See, and recognized by the Church in every land before the great Revolt.

Professor J. B. Ghosal, of Bhopal C.I., has brought together with critical comments a sheaf of testimonies to the beneficent character and achievements of the Catholic Church—**The Catholic Church through the Ages** (Indian C.T.S.: 4 annas)—taking his evidence mainly from non-Catholic sources, and bringing it quite up-to-date. A very useful addition to that process of freeing history from the lies with which the Protestant reformation has infected it.

The same talented author, in **My Home-Coming via the West and the East** (Indian C.T.S.: 3 annas), tells in detail the story of his conversion from Hinduism through Anglicanism to the Catholic Church. It is the revelation of a very active mind and an untiring zeal for truth, and the picture cannot fail to animate others to pursue the same path. Others, alas! have felt the attraction of the Christ of the Gospels and have noted the chaos of doctrine in Anglicanism, without drawing the lesson which God's grace made so plain to Mr. Ghosal.

Some years ago Cardinal Bourne preached at some function in Cumberland, stating there, as he recently did at York, the attitude of the Catholic Church in England to other religious bodies there. His remarks, as lately, aroused a local controversy in which Dom J. B. McLaughlin, of Carlisle Abbey, sustained the Catholic side. The learned Benedictine has edited his share in the correspondence, so far as it is positive and constructive, in a threepenny pamphlet called **Fr. McLaughlin's Letters on the Catholic Faith** (Thurnam: Carlisle), which gives quite a useful summary of several of our main doctrines.

The C.T.S. has issued a very important new twopenny pamphlet called **Birth Control: its medical and ethical aspects**, by joint authors, viz., a Doctor and a Priest, which should be very widely disseminated. Appalling ignorance amongst adults of both these aspects is reflected by the resolutions passed at recent political meetings. We hope in a new edition the title will be printed "Birth-Control," showing that it is a euphemism for voluntary birth-prevention, the sin of Onan. The bibliography at the end should distinguish between trustworthy books and those not wholly so.

Will, by T. Mark, and **Hot Pies**, by J. L. Gordon, are new collections of stories, and the reprints comprise **Between Ourselves Again** (talks to growing boys), by Joseph O'Connor, **The Flower of Faith**, a story by Clara Mulholland, **St. Peter in Rome**, by C. F. B. Allnatt—which is increased in value by a thorough revision from the pen of Mgr. H. K. Mann of the Beda, and **Holy Communion and the Holy Hour**, by a Religious of the H.C.J.

The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland has published in pamphlet form some of the papers read at its last Conference. **Defending the Truth**, by Professor O'Sullivan, Free State Minister of Education, is an able exposition of the natural and positive limits set to liberty of thought and speech. **Knowing the Truth**, by the Rev. Dr. A. Ryan, and **Belief and Conduct**, by Rev. Dr. P. O'Neill, are other aspects of the same great theme, Dr. Ryan showing that revelation is useless unless conveyed infallibly, and Dr. O'Neill showing the folly of imagining that morality fetters true freedom. **A Group of Western Scholars**, by R.J.C., will help to keep green the memory of some Irish historians.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE, London.
With the Church. By Mother M. Loyola. Part. II. Pp. viii. 295. Price, 7s. 6d. *Newman as a Man of Letters.* By J. J. Reilly. Pp. x. 329. Price, 7s. 6d. *Deathless Army, Advance!* By Rev. O. Dudley. Pp. 31. Price, 6d. *A Commentary on the Psalms.* By Rev. T. E. Bird, D.D. 2 vols. Pp. xiv. 469: viii. 472. Price, 25s.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
Confessions of St. Augustine (Gibb and Montgomery). 2nd edit. Pp. lxxv. 477. Price, 15s. n.

C.T.S., London.
Several Twopenny Pamphlets.

C.T.S. of Ireland.
Lost in the Arctic. Translated by M. Bodkin, S.J. Illustrated. Pp. 72. Price, 2s.

"EDITIONS SPES," Paris.
Enquête sur les Droits du Droit. Edited by M. Riquet. Pp. 202. Price, 8.00 fr. *D'une Critique Catholique.* By J. Calvet. Pp. 273. Price, 15.00 fr.

HERDER, London.
The Ex-Nun. By W. W. Whalen. Pp. 234. Price, 7s. 6d. *The Church and Divorce.* By Rev. T. Mahon. Pp. 76. Price, 4s. *Faith and the Act of Faith* (Bainvel). 3rd edit. Translated by L. C. Sterck. Pp. 184. Price, 6s. *The Priest and his Mission.* By D. I. Lanslots, O.S.B. Pp. 218. Price, 8s. *Your Religion.* By Rev. W. H. Russell. Pp. 324. Price, 7s. *The Republic and the Church.* By J. A. McClorey, S.J. Pp. 178. Price, 6s. *My Changeless Friend.* Eleventh Series. Pp. 50. Price, 1s. 6d.

KEGAN PAUL & Co., London.
The Geography of Witchcraft. By Montague Summers. Pp. xi. 623. Price, 21s. n.

LETHIELLEUX, Paris.
Vie de S. Louis de Gonzague. By P. B. Fournier, S.J. Pp. 147. Price, 8.00 fr. *La Vie contemplative.* By Mgr. P. Lejeune. Pp. 84. Price, 5.00 fr. *Jesus-Christ et le Mariage.* By Abbé L. Rouzic. Pp. 282. Price, 5.00 fr.

LETOUZEY ET ANE, Paris.
Histoire d'Israel. By Abbé L. U. Fillion. Vol. I. Pp. 575.

LONGMANS, London.
Essays in Christian Politics and Kindred Subjects. By Bishop William Temple. Pp. vi. 228. Price, 7s. 6d. n. *Epistles of St. Paul* (Vol. III. of Westminster Version). Second Edition: revised. Pp. lxiii. 258. Price, 8s. 6d. n. *The Smoking Furnace.* By Rev. P. B. Clayton. Pp. viii. 144. Price, 4s. *Introduction to Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul.* By Evelyn Parker. Pp. 160. Price, 3s. 6d. *Wit and Wisdom of Dean Inge.* Selected by Sir James Marchant. Pp. xii. 133. Price, 3s. 6d. n. *Economies for Nicodemus.* By J. C. McKerrow. Pp. 59. Price, 2s. n.

MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.
Desiderius Erasmus. By J. J. Mangan, A.M., M.D. 2 vols. Pp. xv. 404: vi. 427. Price, \$10.00.

MAX NIEMEYER, Halle.
Der "Jesuitenstaat" in Paraguay. By Dr. M. Fassbinder. Pp. x. 161.

SANDS & Co., London.
Whom do you say —? By J. P. Arendzen, D.D. Pp. 308. Price, 6s. *Planting the Faith in Darkest Africa.* By F. A. Forbes. Pp. xv. 126. Price, 3s. 6d. n. *Stories of Nazareth House.* By J. M. Giblin. Illustrated. Pp. xv. 208. Price, 3s. 6d. n. *The Coming Hour(?)* By F. J. Blakemore, O.B.E. Pp. xv. 226. Price, 2s. 6d. n.

SHEED & WARD, London.
The Priest's Promptuary. By Rev. J. M. Hallam. Pp. 90. Price, 2s. 6d. n.

SIMPKEIN, MARSHALL & Co., London.
Christ's Coming Reign on Earth. By M. D. Graves. Pp. 154. Price, 2s. 6d. n.

S.P.C.K., London.
Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels. By Harold Smith, D.D. Vol. III. Pp. vi. 342. Price, 7s. 6d. n.

STONVHURST COLLEGE.
The Stonhurst War Record. Compiled by Rev. F. Irwin, S.J. Illustrated. Pp. xxxiii. 449. Price, 21s.

WILLIAMS & NORRIS, London.
Trade Unionism and the Trade Union Bill. By Ramsay Muir. Pp. 172. Price, 2s. n.

